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A HISTORY
OF THE
IRISH PRESBYTERIANS.

BY
W. T. LATIMER, B.A.

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D.D., LL.D. ; "A Lecture on the Doctrines of the
Plymouth Brethren," &c., &c.

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TO THE READER.

AT the beginning of my professional life, I determined to write a history of the Irish Presbyterians. I was strengthened in my determination by the late Professor Witherow, who strongly advised me to undertake the work; but several circumstances prevented my intention from being then accomplished. In one respect, this was fortunate, as I have lately obtained access to various sources of information which were not at that time available, and have, by this means, been able to correct several errors of earlier historians. It occurs to me, however, that if such accurate and painstaking writers as Dr. Reid and the others to whom I refer, have made mistakes, it can hardly be expected that I shall be free from errors myself, notwithstanding the care I have taken to verify my statements by consulting original authorities.

On page 210, will be found some additional facts with regard to the Irish Reformed Presbyterians, which came to my notice after the previous sheets had passed through the press. I have also been led to conclude that the *Eagle's Wing* built for Blair, Livingston, Hamilton, and their companions, was constructed near Belfast, and not at Groomsport as is generally stated.

Although Dr. Reid is certainly astray in stating that Mr. Fleming was sent to Drogheda in August, 1708, by a Synod which did not meet till September, I believe he preached there on the last Sabbath of August, by orders of the *Presbytery*.

To this work I have devoted nearly five of the best years of my life. But I feel that my labour will not be lost if I thereby in any way deepen the love of Irish Presbyterians for those principles that enabled our forefathers to bear bitter persecution in the past, and which enable us now to look forward with courage to the future.

I have to express my obligations to the Rev. Professors. Gordon, Chancellor, Leitch, Henry, Heron, and Dickey; to the Revs. Dr. Morell, Dr. Kinnear, R. Jeffrey, J. R. Dill, John Elliott, D. Manderson, A. G. Leckey, J. Gibson, J. Houston, and J. K. Pike; to Messrs. O. C. Nelson, R. F. Dill, John Gordon, Robert M. Young, and many others.

ENGLISH, DUNGANNON, 14th March, 1893.

ERRATA.

Page 22, last line of note, read : " As that nobleman had previously succeeded to the title of Earl of Sussex."

Page 24, line 29, insert "of" before " Desmond."

„ „ „ 34, read " Edmund Spenser."

„ 99 „ 21, read " of " instead of " for."

„ 125 „ 30, erase " the " before " King."

A HISTORY

OF

THE IRISH PRESBYTERIANS.

CHAPTER I.

PATRICK, BRIGID, AND COLUMBKILLE.

THE inhabitants of Ireland are descended from numerous bands of invaders and colonists, who, at different times, established themselves in the country. When Christianity was first introduced among them, they all spake a Keltic tongue, and may be regarded as a Keltic race. Although Patrick was the chief instrument of their conversion, there were Christians in the country before he began his mission. We read, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, that King Cormac, who lived in the third century, was regarded with hostility by the Druids because he had forsaken them, and turned to "the adoration of God." About 431, A.D., Pope Celestine sent Palladius to "The Irish believing in Christ," expecting that they might be induced to receive him as their first bishop. But at this time, Patrick was preaching the Gospel in Ireland, and, as he did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, he would resent the interference of a foreign prelate with the work he was then carrying on successfully.

According to some authorities, Patrick was a native of Wales; others believe that he was born in Scotland; but it seems more probable that his birthplace was in the North of France. His father and his grandfather were both ministers of the Gospel; for in those days celibacy had not been generally imposed on the clergy. When "nearly sixteen years of age," Patrick was captured and brought to Ireland as a slave. We read that Nial of the Nine Hostages, at the head of a large number of Scots—as the Irish were then called—ravaged the English coasts, passed over to France, and there carried on a work of plunder and devastation. He made several expeditions of this kind, and it is stated that Patrick was captured, during one of these raids, and brought to Ireland. For six years, the young captive remained in servitude, feeding cattle or swine in the valley of the Braid, near Slemish Mountain, from which, far up and down, can be seen the entire County of Antrim, the greater part of Ulster,

and even the blue hills of Scotland. In the solitude of this slavery, he began to reflect on his past life, and the foundation for his hope of future salvation. He was led to see the wickedness of his heart, and he believed in the name of Christ, Who had "respect to his humiliation and pitied his youth and ignorance." He tells us, in his *Confession*, that he prayed frequently during the day—perhaps as often as a hundred times—"and in the night nearly the same;" that he remained for prayer in the woods and in the mountain, and that, before daylight, he would rise for prayer, through frost, and snow, and rain. As a result, he felt his "spirit to be stirred" and "his faith become stronger."

After six years of servitude in Ireland, Patrick escaped, and returned to his native land. He had two hundred miles to walk before he reached the port from which the ship sailed; and he was three days on his voyage, proving, we believe, that his homeward journey was to France rather than to Scotland. However, his troubles were not ended. He was a second time enslaved, but succeeded, once more, in making his escape. Afterwards, being at home with his parents, they besought him that, considering the many hardships he had endured, "he would never leave them again." But he was impelled to return to Ireland by a wonderful dream which he thus relates: "And there I saw, indeed, in the bosom of the night, a man coming as it were from Ireland, Victorius by name, with innumerable letters, and he gave one of them to me. And I read the beginning of the letter containing 'The Voice of the Irish.' And while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter, I myself thought indeed in my mind that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Foclut, which is close by the Western Sea. And they cried out thus as if with one voice, 'We entreat thee, holy youth, that thou come, and henceforth walk among us.'"

Patrick regarded this dream as a call from God to evangelize the Irish; and, being ordained a presbyter or bishop, set out to preach Christ to the heathen inhabitants of the land where he had been formerly a slave. He makes no mention of having received any commission from the Pope to undertake this work. A Frenchman named Prosper, who was well acquainted with all that passed in Rome at this period, is silent about the designation of Patrick, although he tells us, in his *Chronicon*, of the mission of Palladius. Nor does any writer, within three hundred years after the death of the great Apostle of the Irish, venture to assert that he was subject to Rome. And Leo, who occupied the papal chair about the middle of this century, does not, in any of his numerous letters, make mention of the Irish Christians as subject to his supremacy. Besides, I am convinced that if Patrick had owned the authority of Rome, he would not have taught the Irish Church to differ from the Roman in its form of worship, in its mode of reckoning Easter, and in permitting the presbyter abbots to exercise power over their neighbouring bishops.

Although there were probably some believers in Ireland when Patrick began his mission, it was chiefly by his instrumentality that

the country became Christian. He travelled about from place to place, instructing the people in their native language. By such means, and not by miracles, he led the nation to a knowledge of Christ. Preaching before the King of Meath, at Tara, it is said he illustrated the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity by means of a three-leaved shamrock. Everywhere he adapted his reasonings and his style to the capacity of those he instructed, and his efforts were crowned with success.

Although unmarried himself, he did not impose any yoke of celibacy on the Irish Church. He ordained, as bishop, Fiach Finn, "a man with but one wife." For many centuries afterwards, the law and practice of the Church, in this respect, remained the same. An ancient canon relates to the apparel of a minister and his wife, when in public. And even so late as the end of the eleventh century, the renowned Malachy O'Morgair was born the son of an Irish clergyman.

It is said, that Patrick ordained 365 bishops in Ireland. But these bishops were teachers of the people, and not rulers of the clergy. There were, then, less than 300,000 inhabitants in the country, and, therefore, at least one bishop for every two hundred families; which proves that these officials were parish ministers, and the old Irish Church, to a great extent, Presbyterian in its form of church government.

In Patrick's writings there is no allusion to Mary-worship, or to Purgatory, or to Transubstantiation. They contain no prayers to saints; and they appeal to the Scriptures as the only standard of faith and of morals. The necessity of possessing a renewed heart and enlightened understanding is pointed out with great distinctness, and Christ is shown to be the only Mediator between God and man. The hymn which Patrick composed, when about to appear before King Laoghaire, is an earnest prayer to the Lord Jesus Christ, containing no trace of belief in the Virgin, as an intercessor. He entreats that Christ may be before him, behind him, within him, at his right hand, and at his left; that Christ would be in the heart of every man who thought of him, and in the mouth of every man who spoke to him. Thus Patrick taught the people, whom he was the instrument of converting, to go directly to the Saviour. It was hundreds of years after his death, before it was asserted that he received a commission from Rome. And the very parties who first made this statement, stated also that he performed miracles so absurd as to be utterly unworthy of belief.

Before Patrick's death, Christianity had made great progress throughout the whole country. Many of the British clergy, driven from England by the heathen Saxons, sought refuge in Ireland; and gave valuable assistance in teaching the people, whose language was similar to their own. In this tongue, all religious services were held; and the celebration of masses in Latin was not introduced until long afterwards.

Although the old Irish Church was pure in doctrine and Presbyterian in government, it permitted societies of monks and

nuns. This was only a continuance of the custom which had prevailed among the heathen Druids. But the monks of Patrick were engaged chiefly in the work of education. They generally used the neighbouring churches for their class rooms, and their scholars erected wooden huts around, in which they resided. So successful were these Irish seminaries, that, before long, they became celebrated throughout Europe. Scholars flocked to them from distant countries. Ireland was called the "Isle of Saints," and her sons came to occupy distinguished positions in many foreign seats of learning.

The Book of Armagh—which is a manuscript upwards of a thousand years old—contains a copy of Patrick's Confession. This work relates many circumstances of his life. It is written in barbarous Latin, and some passages are very ambiguous, proving that its author was not in the habit of using this language in the services of the Church. His hymn is written in Irish, and is supposed to be the oldest monument of that language in existence. It is said that Patrick died on the 17th of March, 465, A.D., near the town of Downpatrick. He was not a man of learning, but an earnest Christian and a successful missionary, whose memory is venerated by Irishmen of all creeds and classes.

The next great name which appears in connection with the Irish Church is that of Brigid. She established a nunnery at Kildare, and in 525, A.D., died at the age of seventy, leaving behind her a great reputation for sanctity.

Comghall, born in 517, at Magheramorne, Co. Antrim, founded, in 558, the monastery of Bangor, Co. Down, which, afterwards, became renowned as a seat of learning. It is said that, at one time, it contained 3,000 monks; but, probably, this number included the students.

After Patrick, the name of Columba, or Columbkille, stands highest in the old Irish Church. Born of a royal race, in 521, A.D., at Gartan, Co. Donegal, he was of lofty stature and noble presence, had a splendid voice, and could express himself with clearness and power. He was fond of study, and to gratify his taste for books, spent much of his time in copying manuscripts. Having borrowed a psalter from Finnian, Bishop of Moville, he took a copy of it, which he retained as his own property, when the original was returned. But Finnian claimed the copy also, and on Columbkille refusing to restore it, brought the matter before Diarmid, King of Ireland, who decided that as to every cow belongeth her calf, so to every book belongeth its copy. Columbkille was compelled to give up the manuscript he spent so much labour in writing. Greatly enraged at the King's decision, and also because his Majesty put to death a chieftain who had fled to the monks for protection, the Saint persuaded his kinsmen, the O'Neills, to wage war against Diarmid. In 561, the rival forces met near Sligo, and Columbkille's kinsmen were victorious. This victory was ascribed to the prayers of the Saint, who now received back his manuscript, which, in after years, was often carried to the battlefield as a pledge of victory.

But Columbkille, being considered the cause of this bloodshed, was excommunicated by a Synod held in Meath. He then, with twelve of his companions, crossed over to Scotland in a wicker boat covered with hides. Landing in the lonely island of Iona, he established there an Institute which soon became celebrated throughout Europe. Whatever may have been the mistakes which Columbkille made in the previous part of his life, the remainder was devoted to God alone.

He founded in Scotland many monastic establishments, which were the schools of that time, and in which students were trained for the ministry of the Word. Each of these seminaries contained thirteen brethren, all presbyters, of whom one was chosen Abbot, in whose name their decisions were executed. These brethren were called Culdees; but their system probably existed before the time of Columbkille. It contains no trace of Episcopacy. The brethren were all presbyters; but besides, were sometimes called elders and sometimes bishops. One of them states that the principles he taught were "received from his elders, who had sent him thither as bishop." And even the Venerable Bede, who belonged to the English Church, admits that Columbkille was a Presbyter, and deplors the fact that he had not adopted Episcopacy and submitted to Rome. Bede flourished in the eighth century, and he states that even in his own time the Abbot of Iona was a Presbyter. But although Columbkille and his brethren were only presbyter-bishops, they ordained many missionaries, through whose exertions the North of Scotland received the light of the Gospel.

Opposed by the Picts, and in danger of death from the Druids, Columbkille did not feel dismayed. By his imposing mien and popular eloquence, he gained the ear of the people, and won their affection. All opposition was overcome. Christianity was embraced by these rude tribes, who formed a kingdom in the North different from the Scots of the South; and well may Columbkille be called "The Apostle of the Northern Picts." His princely rank and his great success in Scotland caused the Irish to forget the sentence which had been passed on him; and, on returning to his native land, in 575, he was received with enthusiasm. He attended a convention of the princes and clergy, called by King Hugh, to settle questions with regard to expelling the Bards, and taxing the Irish colony in Argyle. By the marvellous eloquence of Columbkille, both these matters were decided in opposition to the wishes of the King. The Scottish colony, to which Iona belonged, was released from subjection to the princes of Ulster, and the Bards received such protection as prevented their extermination. It is said, that, during all the time he was in his native country, Columbkille remained blindfolded, in consequence of a vow he made when driven from Ireland—that he would never look on its soil again.

Some years afterwards he again visited his native land, and was again received with the respect due to his talents and his character. But Columbkille was now growing old, and increasing years brought with them a strong presentiment of death. On

a Saturday evening, he ascended a hill in the Island of Iona, and there, with the wide waste of waters all around, gave a parting blessing to his brethren. Then, resolving to die in the Lord's work, he recommenced copying the Scriptures. Having written the 10th verse of the 34th Psalm—"They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing"—he stopped writing, and said that Baithune might finish what remained. That evening he attended service in the church. Afterwards he retired to his cell, and slept as usual on a bare flag, with his head on a pillow of stone. Next morning, he again proceeded to the church, where he arrived first; but, when the others entered, they found him lying dead. Thus on Sunday, the 9th of June, 597, at the age of seventy-six, died Columbkille the Prince, the Poet, the Orator, and the Saint. It is said that his bones were brought to Ireland and buried in the same grave with Patrick and Brigid, where they were afterwards discovered, through a miracle, by Malachy the Third, Bishop of Down. To this these well-known lines refer :

"Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius."

Or, as it has been translated :

"In Down three saints one tomb do fill—
Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkille."

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF COLUMBKILLE TO THE ENGLISH CONQUEST.

THE religious establishments founded by Columbkille in Scotland seem to have been based on the same principles as those previously existing in Ireland. They were seats of learning over which the Abbot of Iona, and not the Pope of Rome, exercised supremacy. The monks were presbyters, and the presbyter abbots had jurisdiction over the pastor-bishops. It is said that a hundred monasteries in Ireland acknowledged the supremacy of Iona. Of the others, many regarded as their head the Abbot of Armagh. The abbots of these monasteries were called the co-arbs of their founders. The Abbot of Iona was the Co-arb of Columbkille; the Abbot of Armagh, the Co-arb of Patrick; and the Abbot of Bangor, the Co-arb of Comghall.

Vast numbers received instruction in these seminaries, from which came forth able preachers of the Gospel, many of whom laboured in France, or Germany, or other places on the Continent. Irish scholars soon came to occupy distinguished positions in foreign

lands. Columbanus established a monastery in France; Gallus attained great popularity in Switzerland, and gave his name to one of its Cantons. But of all the Irishmen who went abroad, none was more distinguished than Johannes Scotus, a layman, who lived in the ninth century. He was patronized by Charles the Bald, King of France. One day, sitting at the table opposite His Majesty—who dearly loved a bottle of wine—the King asked him what was the difference between a Scot and a Sot. “Nothing, Your Majesty, but the table,” replied the witty Irishman.

Before the Irish became Christians, they were little better than savages. Women, as well as men, were liable to military service, and often marched to battle. The rude chieftans seldom ceased to make war on one another; and the history of these times is a history of robbery and murder.

The influence of Christianity tended to improve this state of society. Better that men should be guided by moral power than by physical force—better to be led by a saint like Columbkille, than by a warrior like Diarmid. Accordingly, Christianity had while it remained pure, a vast civilizing effect on Ireland, which it changed from an island of robbers and murderers into “The Isle of Saints;” although some of these “saints” were beset by many infirmities of the flesh. It was not until the end of the seventh century that women were freed from military service, and, for nearly two centuries longer, monks fought in the ranks as soldiers, on the day of battle.

For several hundred years after Patrick’s death, the Irish Church preserved its purity of doctrine, its Presbyterian form of government, and its freedom from the power of Rome. So strong was the spirit of opposition to Papal claims that an Irish bishop, named Dagan, refused to eat in the same house with Italian missionaries, whom he met in England.

The English, in general, had received their Christianity from Rome. In the year 597, Augustine, with forty monks, came from Pope Gregory to attempt the conversion of the country. The success of his mission caused the authority of the Papal See to be acknowledged in England, unless in some northern districts, where the people, instructed by the Culdees, submitted to the supremacy of the Presbyter Abbot of Iona, the Co-arb of Columbkille.

The Church in Wales still retained its freedom. Thither the Britons had fled before their Saxon invaders; and they were as strongly opposed to the religious authority of the Pope, as to the political authority of their conquerors. Protected by surrounding mountains, the natural habitation of liberty, they remained freemen in body and in soul.

As years rolled on, the Irish Church began to be distracted with disputes regarding the proper form of clerical tonsure and regarding the correct time of observing Easter. While the Romish clergy shaved the crown, the Irish clergy shaved the forehead. And in respect of Easter, the Irish had a cycle of eighty-four years, instead of the Roman cycle of nineteen years. But the fact that other

Christian communities—larger, wealthier, and more fashionable—celebrated this feast at a different time, seems to have had great weight with many in Ireland. The very same principle, which causes Presbyterians now to imitate Episcopacy, caused many Irishmen then to wish their Church to follow the example of Rome.

About 629, Pope Honorius wrote a letter to the Irish clergy, expostulating with them on their non-conformity with other Christians in respect of Easter. This seems to have been the first time that ever a Pope addressed a letter to the Irish Church; and his communication was treated with respect. Deputies were appointed by a Synod to visit Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria to see how and when Easter was observed by foreign churches. These deputies reported that the practice of the Irish was different from that of all the churches they had visited. Cummian wrote a letter to the Abbot of Iona showing that those who resisted the proposed change must hold that Rome errs, Antioch errs, Jerusalem errs; the Irish and the Britains alone have the wisdom to be right. This letter, written in 634, produced a profound impression; and the Roman method of reckoning Easter soon began to prevail in the North of Ireland. As the political power of Ulster diminished in Scotland, the ecclesiastical power of Scotland diminished in Ireland. The defeat of the Ulidians of Down and their Scotch allies, at Moira in 637, widened the breach, and caused the O'Neills, who reigned in Ulster, to look to Armagh rather than to Iona. And Thomian, Abbot of Armagh, favoured the Roman custom.

The change of the Easter cycle was accomplished slowly and with great opposition. Sometimes rival parties decided this dispute by the sword. But the Roman custom, both with regard to Easter and to the tonsure, gradually prevailed; and where they prevailed, the clergy began to pay more deference to Papal authority. The corruptions of Rome were by degrees introduced; for there is always the tendency to adopt the principles and to imitate the practices of that denomination which possesses the numbers, the wealth, and the influence.

For six hundred years after Patrick, there was no diocesan Episcopacy. The bishops were presbyters, the archbishops were those bishops who had obtained renown. The abbots of the monasteries, although exercising supervision over the bishops, were themselves presbyters. Of these abbots, the Co-arb of Patrick now began to acquire supremacy. Hugh Allen, King of Ireland, having defeated the King of Ulidia, and, afterwards, the King of Leinster, tried to establish "The rule, law, and rent of Patrick" over Ireland. His orders were at first imperfectly executed; but year by year the Abbot of Armagh acquired power, until at last he became supreme.

About this period, we first find mention made of the "Staff of Jesus," a celebrated crozier, covered with gold and adorned with precious stones, said to have been given by our Lord to a hermit who bestowed it on Saint Patrick. The possession of this relic was supposed to be proof of a commission from Christ; and in after ages,

when diocesan Episcopacy was thoroughly established, the Bishop who possessed this precious crozier was thought to have proven his claim to be the successor of Patrick.

Towards the end of the eighth century, Ireland was attacked by the Danes or Northmen. In 823, they captured Bangor, murdered the Bishop, and destroyed the shrine containing the relics of Comghall. In 832, they burned Armagh, and for centuries afterwards were a terror to the entire kingdom. Being Pagans, the churches or monasteries were no protection against them; and Ireland, after their depredations, never recovered her former position in literature.

At that time the country was divided into five principal sovereignties—Ulster, Meath, Connaught, Leinster, and Munster. These were nominally under a chief monarch, but the provincial kings often fought bloody battles among themselves, and their jealousies prevented unity of action against the Northmen. But, on the other hand, the invaders had no chance of subduing the country entirely, as they were met by a new enemy wherever they went. At last, in 1014, they were completely defeated at Clontarf by Brian Boru, King of Ireland, who was himself killed in the moment of victory. After this defeat, the Danes never regained their former power in Ireland. They embraced Christianity; but a Christianity derived from Rome. Their bishops were consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and through them a part of Ireland was rendered subject to Papal authority.

The Danes soon mingled with the Celts, and in a few generations could not be distinguished from the other inhabitants of the island. But the country never recovered from the results of their invasion. Many seats of learning, with their valuable collections of manuscripts, had been destroyed. The Church was rapidly becoming corrupt, and the peculiar glory of the "Isle of Saints" had passed away.

Meanwhile the Co-arb of Patrick, as the Abbot of Armagh was called, had gradually increased his power. About 822, "the law of Patrick was promulgated over Munster" by Felim, king of that province; and two years later, the same law was promulgated in Connaught. Yet even then, diocesan Episcopacy had not been introduced, and the proud Co-arb of Patrick was only a Presbyter.

About this period, however, many of the more aspiring of the clergy began to desire the Roman system of Church government, and some of the bishops sought Episcopal ordination. A great-grandson of Brian Boru, named Murtogh O'Brien, who now ruled the South, desired to establish a hierarchy. Like other kings, he thought that bishops gave dignity to a Church, added to the respectability of a kingdom, and were useful for controlling the clergy. Besides, he was under weighty obligations to Anslem, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had obtained from King Henry pardon for the Earl of Pembroke, son-in-law of Murtogh. Finding that he could gratify the Archbishop by doing what was agreeable to himself, the

Irish King permitted Samuel O'Haingly, chosen Bishop of the Danish town of Dublin, to be consecrated by Anslem. The new Bishop caused great excitement by having his cross carried before him as he walked abroad, thus claiming ecclesiastical precedence, which gave great offence to the neighbouring bishops. In 1096, Malcus was consecrated Bishop of Waterford. About 1105, Gillebert, a friend of Anslem, became Bishop of Limerick. He exercised all his authority to make "*the diverse and schismatical rituals with which almost all Ireland is deluded, give way to the one Catholic and Roman office.*"

When Malachy II. ruled the entire island, tribute was received by the Abbot of Armagh from all the King's dominions. But now the kingdom was divided, and Armagh was under Donald M'Laughlan, the great enemy of Murtoth O'Brien. Accordingly, King Murtoth determined to raise in the South a rival to the proud Co-arb of Patrick, the Presbyter Primate of Ireland. He set up an Archbishop in Cashel, and presented that town to the Church "in honour of God and Patrick."

In 1105, Celsus, a man of education, and still in the vigour of youth, obtained the Book of Armagh, the Staff of Jesus, and with them the position of Abbot of Armagh. He immediately set about collecting his dues. In Ulster, he obtained "a cow from every six persons, and a heifer in calf from every three persons, besides many other offerings." In Munster, he failed to obtain so much; but he got "seven cows, seven sheep, and half an ounce of silver" from every one of the seventy cantreds into which the kingdom was divided, "besides many jewels."

Finding it difficult to collect his dues in the South, he determined to make a virtue of necessity, and submit to King Murtoth's plan of establishing diocesan Episcopacy. By this he would obtain the position of Archbishop, and might have a chance of being regarded as Primate of Ireland. Accordingly he consented to the meeting of a convocation which, in 1110, assembled at Rathbreasail, and entirely changed the government of the Irish Church. Through the influence of King Murtoth, who was himself unable to read, Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, acting on behalf of the Pope, presided in this Assembly. All Ireland was now placed under the Government of two archbishops and twenty-three bishops. Leath Mogha, or the South, was to have eleven diocesan bishops, under the Archbishop of Cashel; and Leath Cuinn, or the North, twelve diocesan bishops, under the Archbishop of Armagh. The Bishop of Dublin was permitted to remain under the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was not advanced to the Primacy as he expected. Thus, after six hundred years of Presbyterian government, Episcopacy was established. The world-renowned Co-arb of Patrick, became Archbishop of Armagh; and the Church, which hitherto owned no Pope but her own, "Pope Patrick," handed over her freedom to the Bishop of Rome.

Malachy O'Morgair, born in 1095, was the son of a clergyman. Appointed vicar of the Archbishop of Armagh, when only twenty-

five years of age, he established the "customs of the holy Roman Church" wherever he had power. He was soon chosen Bishop of Connor, and, after the death of Celsus in 1129, having obtained possession of the "Staff of Jesus," became Archbishop of Armagh. Driven from his dioceses by Conor O'Lochlainn, King of Leath Cuinn, he was restored by Coner O'Brien, King of Munster, and Cormac Macarthy, King of Desmond. A few years afterwards, Malachy voluntarily resigned his See, went to Rome, and was appointed Papal Legate to Ireland. He then used all his power to make the Irish Church conform to the Roman in doctrine, and in worship. He succeeded in persuading a Synod, which was attended by only fifteen bishops and two hundred priests, to apply to the Pope for palls. Malachy died soon afterwards on his way to Rome for these tokens of submission.


The Synod of Kells in 1152, admitted the primacy of the Archbishop of Armagh, prohibited the marriage of the clergy, and made arrangements for suppressing the parochial bishoprics. But in many places, these rules remained a dead letter. Several powerful families opposed all innovations, and it was not until the Conquest of Ireland by the Norman English that the country was entirely subjugated to the ecclesiastical government of Rome, and the proud Church of Patrick placed at the feet of St. Peter's "successor."

The external splendour which accompanied this internal corruption was nowhere more visible than in religious buildings. At first, the churches were generally constructed of timber or mud, thatched with reeds or straw. Sometimes they were built of stones without mortar, the roof of stone springing from the sidewalls by each course overlapping the one beneath, until keyed by one stone at the top. But in the tenth century another style was introduced, and soon more substantial buildings were erected.

The Culdee system of Church Government, established by Columbkille in Scotland, on the model of the Irish, was overthrown a little before this period. For many years, it had successfully resisted the encroachments of Rome, but at last David II., who died in 1153, determined to make his kingdom subject to Papal authority. The native clergy refused to submit, but the King, by appointing foreigners to the vacant benefices, succeeded in overcoming opposition. For this great service, he was made a Saint; but James I. remarked, "St. David proved a sore Saint for the Crown."

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ENGLISH CONQUEST TO THE
REFORMATION.

N Englishman, named Nicholas Breakspear, had in A.D. 1154, under the title of Adrian IV., become Pope of Rome. At the request of Henry II., he issued in 1156, a Bull conferring on the English King the Sovereignty of Ireland for "enlarging the borders of the Church," in order that "the religion of the Christian faith may be planted and grow up," and that Henry might "reduce the people to obedience to laws, and extirpate the nurseries of vice," plainly proving that, even then, the Pope's authority in Ireland was not supreme. Henry, on his part, agreed to pay the Pope "a yearly pension of one penny from every house." But for some time he was unable to attempt the conquest. At last, chance presented the desired opportunity.

Dermot Macmorrogh, King of Leinster, had taken away Dovergilda, wife of O'Ruarc, Prince of Breffny. But the injured husband, with the assistance of Roderic, King of Connaught, drove Dermot from his dominions. The fugitive Prince fled to Henry, who empowered his subjects to aid him in recovering his possessions. Dermot now made an agreement with Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, to whom he gave his daughter Eva in marriage, declaring her heir to his dominions. He and Strongbow obtained the assistance of other knights, and, with a small force, ventured, in 1169, to invade Ireland. The Irish were unprovided with defensive armour. They went into battle with shirts of "fine linen," while the strangers were "one mass of iron." Accordingly, the invaders were easily victorious, and Dermot soon regained possession of his dominions. But he lived only a short time to enjoy his recovered dignity. By his death, Strongbow became ruler of Leinster, and soon determined to attempt the conquest of all Ireland. Henry himself came over, in 1171, and found the Irish so much dejected by their late defeats, that he had little to do but receive homage from the chieftains. The nation had valour without arms or discipline, and the love of freedom without the spirit of union. Therefore, little resistance was offered to the superior strength springing from the superior civilization of their invaders. But, for century after century, the obedience they rendered was merely nominal. They fought on to regain their liberty, the English to retain their conquest.

Except in the English "Pale," as the district around Dublin was called, the invaders did not generally attempt to take possession of the lands, as their fathers who came with William, had done in England. And in cases where they did accept of estates, their descendants intermarried with Kelts and became assimilated to the

native race. The Irish princes remained independent rulers, making war on one another, and giving a mere nominal obedience to the King. But, devoid of a spirit of union, they were just as ready to assist the English against their rivals at home as to combine with one another to expel their oppressors. The influence of the clergy told as powerfully in favour of the English as internal divisions. The bishops received Henry gladly, and took the oath of allegiance without hesitation, throwing the weight of their power as willingly against the political liberty of their country, as they had previously done against its religious liberty, when first it became subject to Rome. The Irish Church lost its purity, and the country its freedom, as results of clerical power.

In 1172, a Synod assembled at Cashel, from which laymen were excluded. This Synod decreed that Divine service should be regulated after the Roman model. Thus, the King and clergy, victorious over the people, doomed to destruction the Old Irish Church, the first institution that fell in the conquered kingdom.

Masses were now commonly celebrated, and the people, no longer instructed in their own language, were soon reduced to a state of barbarism. Churches were built, tithes began to be paid to the clergy, monasteries were erected, and so richly endowed that their abbots ranked high among the territorial aristocracy; but the wealth which the Church gained was a poor compensation for the spiritual life which she lost. With external prosperity there was internal decay. As love for æsthetic architecture grew strong, love for the beauty of holiness grew weak. "The Church brought forth riches, but the daughter devoured the mother." The moral power of the people was the price paid for the political power of the clergy. Ireland, ceasing to be an "Isle of Saints," soon became an island of robbers and murderers.

The few village bishops who now remained, soon ceased to exist. The new bishops, rulers of the clergy, and not instructors of the people, became as powerful as the princes themselves. The Archbishop of Dublin had a gallows erected on which to execute the criminals condemned in his Court. In the reign of Edward I., a widow named Margaret le Blunde petitioned His Majesty, because the property awarded to her by the judges had been seized by the Archbishop of Cashel, who had killed her father, imprisoned her grandfather and grandmother till they had died of hunger, and had starved to death her six brothers and sisters because they had claimed a share of what the prelate retained.

Indulgences were now openly sold, the worship of relics was permitted, and pilgrimages became common. Celebrated throughout Christendom was St. Patrick's Purgatory, situated on an island of Lough Derg, Co. Donegal. There the Pilgrim was supposed to anticipate the pains of Purgatory, and thus be enabled to escape much suffering after death. Pilgrims flocked in crowds to this place of penance from all the neighbouring countries, and it became a great source of profit to those in whose charge it existed. Closed by order of the Pope, in 1497, it was afterwards re-opened, and even

now, many pilgrims seek by their penitential sufferings in Lough Derg, to escape punishment after death.

In 1314, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, defeated with great slaughter Edward II., King of England, at Bannockburn, near Stirling. This victory fired the hearts of the Irish, and some of their princes requested Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert, to assume the sovereignty of Ireland. To this request he sent a favourable answer, and next year landed with 6,000 men to drive the English out of the island. Edward Bruce, although rash and headstrong, was a brave warrior. He won eighteen battles in Ireland, and was crowned King at Dundalk. But the Pope excommunicated all who opposed Edward of England, the dear son of the Church; and several Irish princes took part with the English, from whom Bruce had been invited to deliver them. At last, on the 18th October, 1318, he accepted battle from the enemy, near Dundalk, without waiting for the arrival of his brother, who was already on the way from Scotland with reinforcements. Edward Bruce was himself slain, and his army defeated with great slaughter.

It would be altogether foreign to our purpose to recount the rebellions of the Irish against English authority, or the numerous wars carried on among themselves. Robbery and plunder, dignified by the name of warfare, were the only occupations they considered honourable. Their religion, which had been a source of light to Europe and of power to themselves, had now become a superstition without any life-giving principle. The might of their oppressors had imposed on them both political and religious bondage. Yet, while ready to rebel against political subjection, they regarded with pride the moral fetters by which England had bound them to Rome.

As years rolled on, the English made but little progress in stamping their image on the Irish nation. The tendency was in an opposite direction. Many of the colonists, notwithstanding severe penalties directed against the custom, married Irish wives, and brought up families who were Irish in their habits, language, and political tendencies. The custom of fosterage, which they adopted from the natives, was one of the most powerful causes of transforming the Anglo-Norman knights into Irish chieftains. Their children, brought up by the Irish, adopted the nationality of their foster parents. And although it was, in 1367, enacted by a Parliament, held at Kilkenny, that all intermarriages, fosterings, and gossiping with the Irish should be counted treason, these customs still prevailed; and the children of colonists continued to lend the strength of a superior civilization to the spirit of Irish nationality which their fathers had come to subdue. They preferred to be Irish princes rather than be English landlords. The wars of the Roses still further weakened the English authority, and the Pale was now restricted to part of the four counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare.

Sir Edward Poynings, appointed Deputy of Ireland in 1494, got a Parliament, held at Drogheda the following year, to pass an Act, by which the Irish legislature was prevented from considering bills

unless they had been, previously, approved by the King and Council in England. This law remained in force till 1782, and was often the cause of agitation and discontentment.

During the reign of Henry VII., the country was, to a great extent, ruled by the Anglo-Norman family of the Geraldines, "All Ireland," it was said to the King, "is no match for the Earl of Kildare." "Then," said Henry, "let the Earl of Kildare govern all Ireland." And thus the head of the proud Geraldines became ruler of the land. On one occasion the Earl was accused to the King, by the Archbishop of Cashel, with burning his principal church. On being asked whether the charge was true, Kildare replied that he would never have thought of burning the Church, only he was told that the Archbishop was within!

At this time, the common people of Ireland were little better than the Caffres of Africa at present, and even the nobility were without education or refinement. The city of Armagh is described as a "Vain City, devoid of good morals, where women go naked, flesh is eaten raw, and poverty resides in their dwellings."

"Civitas Armachana, Civitas vana,
Absque bonis moribus,
Mulieres nudae, carnes crudae,
Pauperitas in Ædibus."

The people sheltered themselves and their cattle in miserable huts, built of hurdles and long turf. They drove their flocks hither and thither over the territory of the tribe, making the chief a small payment for each beast they owned. Strife and bloodshed seemed to be the great business of their lives. Murder could be atoned for by a fine, and there was no security for life or for property. An ancient writer has said the souls of the people were then falling to hell as thick as showers of hail. The morals of the clergy were little better than the morals of those whom they instructed. Donald, Bishop of Derry, was known to be a notorious sinner; but he was permitted to retain his See, after being subjected to penance. O'Hedian, Archbishop of Cashel, was accused of not only keeping a mistress, but of permitting her to wear a ring which had been worn on a finger of an image of St. Patrick, and the latter offence was regarded as by far the more heinous. We find an Archdeacon who had two sons, and a Bishop who made his own illegitimate son an Archdeacon. The continual struggles for precedence between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin often led to bloodshed.

Whenever a dispute arose between the clergy and the Crown, the Pope sided with the clergy in all questions regarding their claims, and with the Crown in all questions of allegiance. But, before long, the Pope and the Irish people came to be on the same side in politics as well as in religion.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE ULSTER
PLANTATION.

HENRY VIII. ascended the Throne of England in 1509, being then in his 19th year; and, strange to say, the world has gained more benefit from his vices than from his virtues.

Having failed to persuade the Pope to grant him a divorce from his Queen, he caused the parliament, which met in 1531, to declare him head of the Church; and, in 1534, it was completely separated from Rome. The people silently and sullenly acquiesced. The change of law produced a change of religion in England; but in Scotland, a change of religion produced a change of law and of government. The Scotch reformers being victorious, purged the Church from every error which they could discover, and stripped her of every ornament not sanctioned by Scripture. In England, the form of the new religion arose from a silent compromise. The Reformed Church was left as like the Romish as possible, in order to get the people to acquiesce in the supremacy of the King; and hence has never been so successful as the Church of Scotland in her contentings with Popery.

In Ireland, the Government were slow to act. It was 1537 before the King was declared head of the Church, and appeals to Rome forbidden. But everything was against the progress of Protestantism. The liberty of the ancient Irish Church was forgotten. The Anglo-Norman conquerors of Ireland had been more successful in rendering the people submissive to the spiritual power of the Pope, than to the political power of England. The O'Neills, and almost all the other native princes, owned a mere nominal subjection to the authority of Henry. In their own territories, they had the power of life and of death. They hated the English as oppressors, and they became more firmly attached to their religion, when told to lay it aside by their enemies.

Besides, they expected the power of the Pope would enable them to obtain help in their political struggles. They were assured by the Jesuites that if they remained firm in the old faith, they would secure assistance from the Catholics of the Continent. The power of the Papal See, always against them in their struggles of the past, would now be exercised in their favour. Why then should they part with their religion to please the enemy by whom they were oppressed, and alienate the friend by whom they expected to be delivered? Accordingly the Irish princes refused to accept of the Reformation, and there was no means of inducing the people to receive doctrines rejected by their princes.

Even in the English Pale, the Reformation made little progress among the natives. Their language was proscribed by the Govern-

ment, who thus refused to employ the only means by which the people could be made to understand the Reformed faith, and thus led to adopt the religion of England, become reconciled to her rule. But the opportunity was missed; and, until this day, the Irish have remained among the most faithful adherents of that Church to which they were the last in Europe to submit.

The first preacher of the Protestant faith in Ireland was George Browne, whom the King, in 1535, appointed Archbishop of Dublin. By his orders, the "Staff of Jesus" was consigned to the flames. This celebrated crozier, supposed to possess the power of working miracles, had, for seven hundred years, been regarded with the utmost veneration; and every adherent of the ancient faith was horrified by its destruction.

In Ulster, Con O'Neill, incited by the Pope, made war on the English, but defeated in 1539, he promised to acknowledge Henry as head of the Church. Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, made a similar submission; and throughout the Pale, the clergy generally took the oath of supremacy. But these submissions were merely nominal. Neither then nor afterwards did any large proportion of the Irish priests or people consent to give up a religion they loved to please a people whom they hated.

King Henry himself can hardly be considered a reformer. In England, he beheaded as traitors those who were for the Pope; and he burned as heretics those who were against the Pope. At this time there was no persecution in Ireland. But the Reformed faith could not make progress when it was considered a crime to teach the people in the only language they understood.

Henry died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI., who, although not ten years of age, soon manifested a leaning towards Protestantism. During his reign the English liturgy was read in a few of the Irish cities and towns; but not being understood by the natives, made but a slight impression. Several bishops favourable to the Reformed faith were now appointed. Of these the most celebrated was Bale, who attempted to instruct the people by dramatic representations of Scriptural events. Even he could do but little, as he was opposed by an ignorant clergy, who were Romanists in everything but name.

Edward died in 1553, and was succeeded by his sister Mary, a bigotted Roman Catholic, who soon re-established the ancient faith in both England and Ireland. Hugh Curwin was appointed Archbishop of Dublin, and others, supposed to be staunch Romanists, were nominated to the sees left vacant by the Protestant bishops, who were driven from the country. Bale remained for about two months; but five of his servants were killed, and he had to make his escape by night, lest he should be torn to pieces by a furious mob.

A parliament met, which restored the supremacy of the Pope, and enacted that heretics should be burnt for the terror of others. But, there were few in Ireland firmly attached to the Reformed faith, and the Viceroy was not anxious to appear a

persecutor. Accordingly, this country became a place of refuge for the Protestants persecuted in England, where Latimer, and Ridley, and many other distinguished leaders perished at the stake.

Shortly before Queen Mary's death, Dr. Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, was sent to the Irish Viceroy,* with authority to punish the Protestants. Arrived at Chester, he showed his commission to the Mayor, and boasted how he would torture the Irish heretics. This conversation was overheard by a woman named Elizabeth Edmonds, in whose house Dr. Cole was lodging. She was a Protestant, and a brother of her's had fled to Dublin for safety. Mrs. Edmonds watched for an opportunity, stole Dr. Cole's commission out of the box in which it was carried, and substituted a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost. When Cole appeared before the council in Dublin, he explained the nature of his commission, and handed to the secretary the box in which it had been placed. But, when opened, it was found to contain nothing except a pack of cards. The Viceroy, who secretly favoured Protestantism, seemed rather pleased. He directed Cole to procure a new commission, and said they would, meanwhile, shuffle the cards. But, before the necessary document could be obtained, the Queen died and Irish Protestants escaped the horrors of a religious persecution.

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII., ascended the throne in 1558. Fearing that the supremacy of the Pope would interfere with her own ambitious schemes, she inclined to the faith which permitted her to rule both Church and State. In one session, without violence or tumult, the religion of the English nation, was again changed. The people, ever ready to mould their moral principles according to the will of the Sovereign, became Protestants for Elizabeth as readily as they had become Catholics for Mary. Attached to the old forms, yet hating the old abuses, they were a plain sheet of paper on which the Queen wrote whatever religion she liked. The will of one weak woman determined the future faith of the race which speaks the English tongue.

In Ireland, the Earl of Sussex, re-appointed Viceroy, caused the Litany to be sung in English. The Romanists raised a report that an image of Christ in the Cathedral had begun to sweat blood, to show the wrath of God against those who were trying to reform the Church. But, Curwin, who had determined to again embrace Protestantism, found that a sponge soaked in blood had been placed behind the crown of thorns, on the head of the image. Those guilty of the trick had to do public penance; and, upwards of one hundred Papists were so disgusted at the artifice that they turned Protestants. Curwin, the Archbishop, once more changed his religion to preserve his position. In the presence of King Henry, he had preached against Frith when in prison for denying Purgatory and transubstantiation, thus using his influence in favour of the prisoner's

* Dr. Reid is astray in stating (*Hist. of the Pres. Church*, Vol. I., p. 42) that this document was sent to Lord-Deputy Fitzwalter, as that nobleman had been previously succeeded by Sussex.

martyrdom. A Protestant, under Edward VI., he suddenly became zealous for the Old Faith in the reign of Mary. His zeal was now transferred to the religion he had laboured to destroy a few months previously. Yet this man is the connecting link in the chain of Apostolic succession, which is supposed to join the Episcopal Church in Ireland with the ancient Church of St. Patrick. Of the Bishops, only Curwin and Field can be proved to have embraced Protestantism, and only Curwin assisted at the consecration of newly appointed Bishops. He had been himself consecrated at London House by English Bishops, under the presidency of the bloody Bonner, whose orders can be traced step by step to Halsay, Bishop of Leighlin in Ireland. This, however, would not prove any connection with the Old Irish Church, as Halsay was an Englishman, and had been ordained at Rome.

Accordingly, the Irish Episcopal Church utterly fails to trace its orders to the Church of St. Patrick. Besides, if such a thing as Apostolic succession exists anywhere, it would be better to have it through the honest Bishops, who refused to conform, than through men like Curwin, whose guiding principle was to retain his position of Archbishop, and who was more celebrated for his habit of "swearing terribly," than for zeal in discharging the duties of his office. In 1560, an Act provided for the uniformity of the Irish Church with the English in doctrine and in worship. So prejudiced was the Government against the Irish language, that it was arranged the service should be in Latin where the minister did not understand English. The laws made for the punishment of heretics were repealed, but it was enacted that a fine of one shilling should be imposed for each Sunday that a person might be absent from public worship.

The native clergy resolutely remained Roman Catholics, and in this resolution they were strengthened by the Reformed Church refusing to acknowledge the existence of Purgatory, and thereby cutting off a valuable source of revenue. Begging Friars went about everywhere preaching against the Reformed religion, and denouncing the English as oppressors. The Protestant clergy did not understand, and the government had attached penalties to the use of the only tongue in which the Irish could be instructed.

In 1570, Pius V. excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, declared her deprived of the kingdom, and absolved the people from obedience to her commands. His Bull, regarded with contempt in England, was the means of strengthening the opposition to Elizabeth in Ireland; but, the government, nevertheless, was administered with vigour, and every rebellion subdued.

Con O'Neill, who ruled a large portion of Ulster, had, in 1542, accepted the earldom of Tyrone, from Henry VIII., subject to the principles of English succession, and not according to the Irish custom of Tanistry, by which the most worthy of the tribe was, during the lifetime of the head, chosen as his successor. The new-made Earl promised to give up calling himself "The O'Neill," to recognize Henry as head of the Church, and to compel his tribe to make a

similar submission. His illegitimate son, Matthew (supposed to be in reality the son of a blacksmith named Kelly), was created Baron of Dungannon, and recognized as his successor.* But another son called Shane, or "John the Proud," refused to recognize this compact, made war on his father, and slew Matthew. Old Con did not live long afterwards; and Shane, despising an English title, was proclaimed "The O'Neill." As Protestantism was the religion of his enemies, he preferred the Roman Catholic faith. Fired with the ambition of being King of Ulster, he imagined that by the influence of the Pope he would procure aid from the Catholic Sovereigns of the Continent to accomplish his designs. Having carried on a successful war with the English for a lengthened period, he was at last admitted to a treaty of peace. But again rebelling, he was defeated, and in 1567 slain by the Macdonells, at Cushendun, in a drunken carousal.

The Irish Chiefs had doubtless a difficult game to play. If they were faithful to the King, they were detested by their people. If they were faithful to their people, they were regarded as rebels by the King. The Butlers and the Fitzgeralds or Geraldines were the most powerful families in the South. The chiefs of both were of English descent, and bitter enemies of one another. The Earl of Ormond, head of the Butlers, was a Protestant; but his great rival, the Earl of Desmond, chief of a younger branch of the Geraldines, of whom the Earl of Kildare was head, professed the Roman Catholic faith. A quarrel arose between Ormond and Desmond.† The latter refusing to submit to the decision of the Deputy, was placed in prison. The Geraldines and their friends now rebelled. They received assistance from Spain, and the war continued for a lengthened period. The Earl Desmond, released from prison, after hesitating for a while, escaped from surveillance, and joined his friends on their revolt. At last, he was defeated and killed. Munster was pacified. Famine now claimed what the sword had left, and "the lowing of a cow, or the voice of the ploughman could scarcely be heard from Dunqueen to Cashel in Munster." Edmond Spencer tells us that the natives "were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, in so much as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves. In short space there was none

* Dr. Collier is mistaken when he asserts (*Hist. of Ireland*, p. 108) that Shane (or John) O'Neill, was an illegitimate son of the first Earl of Tyrone, and the Earl's lawful heir the Baron of Dungannon.

† As the Butlers carried Desmond wounded from the field of battle, one of them asked in triumph, "where is now the great Desmond?" But the wounded man scornfully replied—"still upon the necks of the Butlers."

almost left." Among the many Englishmen who now obtained grants from Desmond's forfeited estates were Spencer himself, and Sir Walter Raleigh. To the latter Ireland owes the introduction of the potato as an article of food.

Meanwhile, the Reformation was giving life and strength to the English nation. The first proof of that new vigour was shown in 1588 by the defeat of the Spanish Armada—an event pregnant with disappointment to the Irish chieftains, who always regarded the difficulties of England as the opportunities of Ireland. Yet, many of the unfortunate Spaniards, wrecked on the coast of Connaught, were robbed and murdered by natives themselves.

In 1571, a feeble attempt was made to instruct the Irish Kelts through the medium of their own language. Types were brought to Dublin, and a catechism and primer printed in Irish. About the beginning of the next century the New Testament was published in the same language. But the mere publication of books, which the people were unable to read, produced but little effect.

The English landlords of Irish estates had seized a great part of the parochial endowments, which formerly belonged to the monasteries; but they gave themselves no trouble to provide substitutes to discharge the duties involved by the possession of this property. Many churches were permitted to tumble into ruins, and if vicars were appointed, they were often boys of ten years old, soldiers, servants, or others equally ignorant, who neither read the Scriptures nor preached to the people; while Roman Catholic friars still went about everywhere denouncing the Reformation. Some of the Irish, known as *Church Papists*, attended Protestant services occasionally; and almost the entire native race was then an unwritten tablet on which England might have engraven whatever religious principles she desired. Half the money spent by Elizabeth in useless wars would have given the Irish instruction sufficient to have separated them from Rome—always urging them to rebellion. Their religion, more political than theological, was strengthened by the spirit of nationality, which is, even yet, the main-spring of an Irishman's religious fervour; for we see that fervour soon lost when the Kelt is placed in America, where patriotism is no longer connected with Popery. Towards the end of the century, Queen Elizabeth directed a University to be established in Dublin. The Episcopal Primate, Loftus, although strongly opposed to the scheme, had to submit. On a site granted by the corporation, buildings were erected by voluntary subscriptions; and on the 9th of January, 1594, the New Institution was opened. It was named Trinity College, it soon became popular, and in the course of time raised the standard of education among clergymen of the Episcopal Church. One of its first students was James Ussher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. Walter Travers, appointed Provost, was an English Puritan, who had received Presbyterian ordination in Holland. The first elected fellows were James Fullerton and James Hamilton, also Presbyterians. Hamilton was son of a Scotch clergyman, and he acted, when in Dublin, as a political agent of King James VI.

of Scotland. He afterwards became the first Lord Claneboy.

The Puritan party were now becoming powerful in England. They did not form a separate sect, but consisted of these ardent Protestants in the English Church who desired to do away with vestments, ceremonies and liturgies ; and to substitute a Presbyterian for an Episcopal form of Church Government. During previous persecutions, many Protestants had taken refuge on the Continent, where they found churches more thoroughly purged from the errors of Romanism than their own. They imbibed not only the religious principles of these churches, but also the political principles of liberty which prevailed in the Continental republics. On their return to England, they not only aimed at reforming the half-reformed Church, but also at limiting the power of the Crown. Although Elizabeth was jealous of their religious and political tendencies, she was far too able a ruler to subject them to persecution, and they soon became powerful among the middle class throughout England.


In Ireland, the laws against heresy had been repealed, and Papists suffered from political rather than from religious persecution. Dermot O'Hurley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, was, on a charge of treason, brought before the Lords Justices, among whom was Loftus, the Protestant Primate. The prisoner, accused of having carried letters from Rome to some of the Irish rebels, was cruelly tortured, tried by a court martial, and hanged as a traitor.

Hugh O'Neill, son of Matthew and reputed grandson of Con, had been brought up at the English court, and recognized as Earl of Tyrone. In the war with Desmond, he commanded a troop of horse for the English. When in Tyrone, he was a Romanist, but, when in Dublin, he conformed to the established religion. After the death of his wife, he fell in love with and married Mabel, sister of Sir Henry Bagnal. For her accommodation, he began to build a new castle at Dungannon. The house in which he resided was thatched with heather, and he procured a large quantity of lead to roof the new building. But before the walls were finished, he had risen in revolt, and the lead was melted into bullets, of which one afterwards found its way into the brain of his brother-in-law. At first, the Irish chief was successful in his rebellion. Where the Battleford Bridge now stands, two miles from Eglish, and the same distance from Benburb, he inflicted, in 1597, a severe defeat on the Lord Deputy, who afterwards died of his wounds. And, on the 15th of August, 1598, he completely overthrew Bagnal, at the Yellow Ford, between Armagh and Blackwatertown.* Bagnal was killed, and 1,700 of his men were left dead on the field of battle. But, afterwards, the English prosecuted the war with more vigour, and notwithstanding Spanish assistance, O'Neill was defeated by Mountjoy. He then submitted to the Government, and received his pardon.

* Not on the Blackwater, as stated by several historians.

CHAPTER V.

THE ULSTER PLANTATION.

UEEN ELIZABETH died in 1603, and was succeeded by James VI., King of Scotland. In Scotland the Protestant Reformation had produced a vast effect on its inhabitants. John Knox, a man of learning, eloquence, and fearless courage, had led the reformers to victory. A system of education was provided for the people. The principles of Protestantism sank into their hearts, and changed the habits of their lives. In two generations "men of clay" were transformed into "men of iron." An ignorant and changeable people became the foremost race in the world, possessed of all the qualities necessary to render the Kelts of Ireland subject to the authority of England. Hitherto, English colonists had been absorbed by the Irish. But now another description of colonist was to settle in Ulster, capable of holding the Kelt in subjection, and keeping the "back door" of access to England closed against all her enemies.

After James became King of England, he appointed, as Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester, who earnestly desired to see the country colonized with men of his own race and religion. It was reported that he intended to seize the Earl of Tyrconnell, and the Earl of Tyrone; but these two chieftains, with many of their friends, fled from the country in 1607, and never returned. All their estates now fell to the Crown, and became available for purposes of plantation.

Con O'Neill of Castlereagh, three miles from Belfast, had large estates in that neighbourhood. A quantity of wine, which he had ordered from Spain, was detained on its arrival, until he would pay a lately imposed duty, concerning which he neither knew nor understood anything. The old chieftain's blood arose, and he ordered his followers to bring the wine by force; but they were driven off by the soldiers. O'Neill was now accused of making war on the government, and lodged in Carrickfergus Castle. His wife brought her husband a present of two large cheeses, hollow within and filled with ropes. By means of these he succeeded in escaping to Bangor, where he lay hid in the church steeple until he had an opportunity of escaping to Scotland. Through the influence of Mr. Hugh Montgomery, O'Neill received forgiveness, but retained only one-third of his estate, the other two-thirds being divided according to agreement between Montgomery and Mr. James Hamilton, ex-Fellow of Trinity College, who as Stewart states, assisted in procuring O'Neill's pardon. In 1608, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty perished in rebellion, and his lands were confiscated. Mulmorie O'Reilly, whose father died fighting for the English at Yellow Ford, and whose mother was a niece of the Duke of Ormond, had to accept of

a "proportion" of his lands. Other native chieftains, against whom there was no accusation of disloyalty, were compelled to surrender a large part of their property, and a vigorous attempt was now made to plant the country with Protestants.

It is asserted by Hill, that as a result of the flight of the Earls, and of an Act of Parliament, known as the 11th of Elizabeth, no less than 3,798,000 acres in Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, were placed at the disposal of the Crown, and made available for plantation. These lands were now granted to three classes of proprietors. The first were English and Scottish undertakers, who were to plant with tenants from England or Scotland, and conform themselves in religion according to his Majesty's laws. The second were "servitors" or military undertakers, who were permitted to take Irish tenants; and the third were native Irish who obtained grants. The first paid a yearly rent of £5 6s 8d, the second of £8, and the third of £10 13s 4d for every 1,000 acres. But if the servitors planted part of their estates with English or Scotch tenants, their rents for all the lands thus colonized would be the same as was paid by the first class.

This plantation was a means of changing the tenure by which the Ulster peasantry held their lands. The Government of Ireland had been tribal and not feudal. It was the tribe who owned the soil, the tribe who, in the lifetime of the chief, elected his "tanist" to succeed him at death. The tanist was supposed to be the man who would be best fitted to rule them in peace and to lead them on the day of battle. Often he was chosen to the exclusion of the sons belonging to him he was to succeed. The chief, therefore, held the lands, not for himself, but as trustee for his kindred; and he was known by the appellation of *THE*, prefixed to the name of his family. The cattle were driven about everywhere through the possessions of the tribe. Rents, generally in kind, were paid according to the number of the flock which an individual owned, and not for possession of a farm. The families in charge of cattle went with them from one district to another, residing in rude huts made of wattles and sods. But those to whom the forfeited estates were granted owned the soil. They were landlords having power to evict their tenants and give to others the farms made valuable by the labour of those evicted. The forfeited estates were divided into portions of 1,000, 1,500, and 2,000 acres, with bogland and woodland in addition. Every owner of 2,000 acres was bound to build a castle, with a bawn or walled enclosure; every owner of 1,500 acres to build a stone or brick house, with a bawn; and every owner of 1,000 acres to build a bawn. The undertakers were required to bring from England or from Scotland 48 able-bodied tenants for each 2,000 acres. In every county there was to be at least one free grammar school; and also, a convenient number of market towns, which, according to Edmund Spencer, have a vast civilizing effect on country people who frequent them to sell their produce.

Since the landlords had obtained their estates for a penny or two

pence an acre, the Government intended that tenants would be partners in the transaction, and have their farms at moderate rents. These rents were often less than a shilling an acre. But the farmers built their houses, drained the marshes, and cleared the woods. Although they failed to obtain from their rapacious landlords the certain estates and other privileges the Government desired, they were from the first permitted to sell the good-will of their holdings. This was the foundation of the Ulster Tenant Right Custom, concerning which there was so much contention afterwards. But the Government made a mistake in leaving tenants to the tender mercies of their landlords, without giving them a legal right to the property created by their labour. And the partial confiscation of that property afterwards, by the unjust raising of their rents, was a great cause of discontentment among Protestant Saxons in the North, as well as among Roman Catholic Kelts in the South.

The Government having appropriated the property of the natives because of their disloyalty, were exceedingly short-sighted to permit one class of their own supporters to appropriate the property of another class of their supporters. The landlords having obtained a possession for which they never had toiled, gradually confiscated the labour of the very parties who preserved them in that possession.

In 1609, the forfeited lands were surveyed by commissioners, many grants were made to undertakers and servitors, and all things prepared for planting Ulster with another race, professing another religion. The Episcopal Church received a large proportion; Trinity College was not forgotten; and the greater part of County Derry was given to the Corporation of London, on condition of building and fortifying Londonderry and Coleraine, and thus spending £20,000 on the property. A committee of the Corporation called the Irish Society, was formed, whose duty was to carry out the plantation of their estates.

Next year, the first settlers began to arrive. Some came from England, but most were from Scotland. The English settled in the southern part of the province; while the Scots occupied the north and centre, including Tyrone, "the fayrest and goodliest countrye in Irelande universallie." Among these settlers were so many who left their country for their country's good, that it became a proverb regarding any one not doing well, to say that his latter end would be "Ireland." But the great body of colonists were earnest and industrious. Succeeding bands were even more earnest and more industrious, while the most worthless among them were, in every mental and moral quality, far above the Irish by whom they were surrounded.

At first, these settlers erected their rude, rush-thatched huts near the landlord's castle for protection, and every night they had to place their flocks within the walled enclosure by which that castle was surrounded, for fear of the Irish driving them off in the darkness. But, afterwards, as the settlers became more numerous, they ventured to build their houses here and there in little clusters.

called *towns*. This caused each farmer's land to be divided into lots, separated one from another, and mixed up with the lots of others.

Many of the natives, driven to the mountains or woods, were known as woodkernes, and lived by plunder. But woe betide the unfortunate woodkerne when taken in theft! Small crimes were punished by death. Some, like the Grecian lawgiver, regretted there was no greater punishment for greater crimes. Bloodhounds were kept for tracing these outlaws, who, when taken, were often shot without trial. If tried, they were generally found guilty, and, when sentenced, halters were immediately put round their necks, they were then led through the principal streets of the town to the place of execution, and hanged in the most barbarous manner. But woodkernes were not the only enemies of the settlers. Large flocks of wolves roamed about by night, and often made sad havoc among their cattle. The land was unfenced and undrained. Much of it was covered with woods, affording refuge to the the outlaws. But, on the other hand, rents were low and labour did not cost much. The laws were repealed which made it criminal to have any dealings with the native Irish, who were now employed by the settlers as domestic servants. The wages of a ploughman was six shillings and eight pence a quarter. A servant maid got ten shilings a year. Labourers received two pence, and tradesmen six pence a day. A cow was worth about a pound, and a horse four pounds. But money was then more valuable than now, and purchased more of the necessities of life. In the past, Irishmen had thought labour a disgrace. Old Con O'Neill had cursed those who sowed wheat as well as those who learned English. Their chief sustenance came from cattle, and their food was milk, and butter, and herbs such as "scurvy grass." But the colonists drained the swamps, cut down the woods, sowed wheat, and planted the potatoe—an article of food lately brought from America. Barley was also cultivated extensively, and was prepared for use by pounding in those round stone troughs, still to be seen at old farm houses, and preserved as curiosities.

Even then a trade in linen had taken root in the country. Existing before the foot of a Saxon had been placed on its free soil, it was now carried on with vigour and success. The colonists sowed flax, spun the flax into yarn, and wove the yarn into linen cloth. The cloth when sold produced much of the money they obtained. There was also woollen cloth manufactured. Both commodities were easily conveyed over bad roads to the seaports for exportation; and were highly esteemed abroad.

With their lands at a nominal rent, their clothing and their tools manufactured by themselves, with linen and woollen cloth, cattle and horses to sell, the colonists soon began to thrive. As the woods were cut and the marshes drained, a larger proportion was cultivated. The land, after its long rest, brought forth abundantly. The success of the settlers induced many of their friends from Scotland to follow. The vacant parts of the country were occupied. The woodman's axe rang in the forests, and the husbandman's plough

turned up the fruitful soil in the plains. Notwithstanding a difference of race and of religion, a common humanity was often sufficient to establish a feeling of friendship between the settlers and the more civilized of the Irish. The woodkernes were subdued or exterminated, and prosperity began to reign in Ulster.

CHAPTER VI.

PRESBYTERIANISM WITHIN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

MANY of the first settlers were Presbyterians, but an effort was made to include them within the Episcopal Establishment. The leaders of that church were then inclined to Puritanism. A convocation of the clergy in 1615, adopted a Confession of Faith drawn up by Dr. James Ussher, then Professor of Divinity in Trinity College. The new confession was as Calvinistic as the Shorter Catechism, and admitted, by implication, the validity of ordination by Presbyters. The Irish Church was now Presbyterian in theory although Episcopal in form, but no higher claim was made for its Episcopacy than mere expediency. Rejecting the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, the Established Church of Ireland was now so strongly Protestant that it was joined by several Scotch Presbyterian ministers, who came to Ireland, and were recognized as clergymen.

In the early part of his reign, the "British Solomon" had expressed a great love for the Presbyterianism in which he had been educated. At a meeting of the General Assembly, in 1590, he praised God that he was born in such a place as to be king in such a Kirk, the purest Kirk in the world. "The Kirk of Geneva" he said "keepeth Pasch and Yule [Easter and Christmas]. What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, their service is an ill-mumbled mass in English. They want nothing of the mass but the liftings [the elevation of the Host]. I charge you, my good people, ministers, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."

This would have been an admirable speech from Oliver Cromwell, or from William of Orange; but it adds to the contempt with which posterity regards James. For he was both untruthful and pedantic, ever blustering about those kingly rights which his cowardice prevented him maintaining by the sword. Unstable as water, he favoured by turns several systems of religious thought; but, at last, seems to have decided that Episcopacy was best calculated to strengthen his political power. He imagined he could rule the bishops who ruled the clergy, who ruled the people. His favourite maxim became "No Bishop no King." The institution of Prelacy which served the purpose of Popes in the past would serve

the purpose of Kings in the future; who thus might become as supreme in the Church as they were in the State.

The Scotch, however, did not submit willingly to his wishes in matters of Church government. Andrew Melville, at a private audience, took James by the sleeve, and calling him "God's Sillie Vassal," said, "There are two Kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of this Commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." Although the King seemed angry at first, he dismissed Melville with fair promises.

Soon afterwards, the General Assembly, at the King's request, rashly nominated fourteen ministers, with whom he might consult on important matters. "This," said James Melville, "was the very needle which drew in the Episcopal thread." The King then got the Assembly to sanction these commissioners having a seat in Parliament. Ferguson compared this proceeding to the wooden horse by which Troy was captured, and John Davidson said: "Busk him as bonnilie as ye can . . . We see the horns of his mitre."

Three of the ministers were afterwards nominated Bishops, and in 1610, the King, by bribery and intimidation got the Church to receive the Bishops, as moderators of synods. By this means, and by a Court of High Commission to which appeals might be made in Ecclesiastical matters, he rendered the power of the State supreme over the Church.

After James had succeeded Elizabeth in 1603, as King of England, he seemed as much averse to Puritanism in the South, as he had been to Presbyterianism in the North. During a conference held at Hampton Court, to hear the complaints of Puritans, he asserted the principle of "No Bishop, no King," and declared that Presbytery "agreed as well with Monarchy as God and the Devil." Surrounded now by his beloved Bishops, in what he termed "the promised land," he resolved to pursue his favourite project of forcing Episcopacy on the Scottish Presbyterians. By bribery, and by intimidation, he succeeded in getting a number of the clergy met at Perth, in 1617, to agree to five points of conformity with the English Church. These are called *The Five Articles of Perth*. They enjoined kneeling at the communion, the observance of holidays, Episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and private communion. But this meeting at Perth was regarded as illegal, and the struggle still continued.

Both pastors and people now began to look to Ireland as a place of refuge, although the laws there against Non-conformity were annoying, and the local authorities, in some places of the North, seemed inclined to press them. The Corporation of Belfast had arranged a scale of fines for parties, above the age of thirteen, who might be absent from public worship, as by law established, on Sundays or on holidays. The amount for a householder was five shillings; for a married woman, two-and-six-pence; for a servant, one shilling; and for a child, ten pence. But as the Irish Church was now so similar in its principles to the Scotch, Presbyterians who

left their country, rather than submit to Episcopacy, did not hesitate to join the more evangelical Episcopal Church in Ireland.

Edward Brice, brother of the laird of Airth, and formerly minister of Drymen, in Stirlingshire, was the first of these Presbyterian ministers who joined the Irish Church. Having opposed the King's plan of introducing Episcopacy, he became an object of persecution, fled to Ireland, and settled, in 1613, at Broadisland, between Larne and Carrickfergus, where he was parish minister, and enjoyed the tithes; but he preached the doctrines, and observed the practices of the Church of Scotland.

John Ridge had been ordained in England, but not finding freedom there, came to Ireland, and was admitted to the vicarage of Antrim. Blair alludes to him as a "judicious and gracious minister."

Robert Cunningham had been chaplain to the Earl of Buccleugh's regiment in Holland. But after the troops returned, he came to Ireland, and in 1615, was admitted to the ministry by Bishop Echlin. He served for a considerable period as curate of Holywood and Craigavad, and was greatly confirmed in the faith by his intercourse with Mr. Blair.

But of all the Presbyterian ministers in the Irish Established Church the most celebrated was Robert Blair, a man of majestic appearance, deep piety, great learning, and persuasive eloquence. He resigned the position of professor in Glasgow University rather than submit to the Prelacy which James was forcing on the Church. Invited by Sir James Hamilton, lately created Lord Clanebo, he came to Bangor in 1623, and was ordained one of his Lordship's vicars.

At this time, many of the rectors in the Episcopal Church were laymen. Disqualified themselves for discharging the duties of their office, they employed vicars to act in their stead. Lord Clanebo obtained a large share of Con O'Neill's estates in the manner I have described. He was rector of a number of parishes, and a Presbyterian himself, made Presbyterians his vicars. To them he gave one-third of the spiritual emoluments of the parishes in which they officiated. This secured each of them about twenty pounds a year, which, it is probable, was supplemented by a few pounds yearly from the people. As Blair scrupled to be ordained by the bishop alone, Echlin, who officiated, consented to come in as a mere presbyter, together with a number of clergymen, that his ordination might be Presbyterian. He and Mr. Cunningham of Holywood each celebrated the Lord's Supper four times a year, and the people of both parishes joined in every communion. To these communions "professors" often came from the borders of Tyrone, and other places equally distant. In the second year of Mr. Blair's ministry a plentiful crop ran the risk of being spoiled with excessive rains. But a public fast having been kept, next day there blew a mighty strong wind, which recovered the corn that had been standing in "stooks," or "smoking in the stacks," and famine was averted.

James Hamilton, nephew to Lord Clanebo, had been

educated for the ministry, but did not seek ordination, and was now acting as agent for his uncle. Mr. Blair and Mr. Cunningham thought he had a call to the ministry, and put him to "private essays" of his gifts. Being satisfied with the trial, they got him to preach publicly at Bangor, in hearing of his uncle and aunt, who were both well pleased at his effort. Mr. Hamilton then entered the ministry, was ordained by Echlin, and settled at Ballywalter. He was an earnest minister, and remained a faithful Presbyterian, notwithstanding strong temptations to conform to prelacy.

We have seen that many of the first settlers were ignorant and careless, having left their country "for their country's good;" but the preaching of these Presbyterian pastors, included in the Establishment, soon began to produce marvellous effects.

All over the North-East of Ulster, those who received Presbyterian principles in sincerity and in truth, were transformed into men of intelligence and of power. Instead of being as chaff, driven before the wind, they took root in the congenial soil of Ireland, and brought forth fruit abundantly, in nine generations of their descendants. They have not been exterminated by repeated rebellions of the Kelts, nor perverted by the persecution of their Prelatic landlords. They have imposed their language and their religious principles on Ulster, which is to-day a province of Scotland, inserted in Ireland.

Mr. Blair had not been long settled in Bangor, until the people began to relish the duty of prayer, and to attend more diligently to their spiritual interests. The same desire was soon manifested throughout the greater part of Antrim and of Down. The preaching of Mr. Glendenning produced marvellous effects at Oldstone. This minister had settled at Carrickfergus, but, by the advice of Blair, removed to Oldstone, in order to have a congregation of his own countrymen, which would be more suitable for his talents than the English congregation of Carrickfergus. His actions seem to have sprung more from his feelings than from his judgment; and, afterwards, he actually went "distract." He was not a man who would have been chosen by the Church to begin a reformation in the land; yet his preaching had a marvellous effect. As he thundered forth the terrors of the law against his hearers, many became convinced, and some were converted. Stewart tells us that in one day, he saw a dozen carried out of doors as if they had been dead. A man, who came to these services to work mischief, was converted; and, in after life, was said to be as zealous in good works as, formerly, he had been in evil works.

This revival spread over the rich valley of the Six-mile-water, which flows westward through fertile farms past Ballynure, Ballyclare, and Templepatrick, till, at last, it falls into Lough Neagh, near Antrim. It was carried on at Larne, by Mr. Dunbar, and everywhere it excited wonder. Episcopalians—and even Roman Catholics—attended these meetings, and, in some instances, were savingly converted. About this time, two celebrated men of Irish birth joined the Presbyterian Church; one was Jeremiah O'Quinn, who became a minister; the other was Owen O'Conolly, who, in 1641,

saved Dublin Castle from falling into the hands of the Roman Catholic rebels.

Mr. Blair and his brethren, being clergymen of an Episcopal Church, could not set up such ecclesiastical courts as existed in Scotland. But at the suggestion of Mr. John Ridge, they established a "Meeting," which was held once a month in the Parish Church of Antrim. They assembled on the Thursday evening; the Friday was spent in fasting, in prayer, and in preaching the Word. So desirous were the people of hearing, that "no day was long enough, nor any room great enough, to answer their strong desires and large expectations." "Then," said Livingstone, "the ministers stayed the Friday's night after, and consulted much about such things as concerned the carrying out of the work of God." The resolutions of these "Monthly Meetings" had no legislative force, but were observed with respect by the faithful among both pastors and people.

Mr. Glendenning's feelings, at last, completely overcame his understanding. He was led to believe the most extravagant doctrines; and in public taught such absurdities, as that a person who turned from one side to the other in bed could not be a Christian. One day he put his foot into the fire, asserting that it would not be burned. But Blair pulled him away before he received any injury. At last, Glendenning set off to visit the Seven Churches of Asia, and we hear of him no more.

His place at Oldstone was soon filled by Josias Welsh, son of John Welsh, and grandson of John Knox. Mr. Welsh had been a professor in Glasgow. But the King's attempt to impose prelacy on the Church caused him to resign his chair and come to Ireland. After preaching a short time at Oldstone, he was ordained by Knox, Bishop of Raphoe, and, afterwards, became chaplain to Captain Norton, at Templepatrick.

Mr. Andrew Stewart settled, in 1627, at Donegore, near Antrim. He was a man of education and zeal; but his ministry was of short duration.

Mr. George Dunbar had been twice ejected in Scotland for his Presbyterianism. When moving the first time, his children were carried in creels on horseback. On receiving information that he was to leave his second charge, he turned to his wife and told her to get the creels again. Having come to Ireland, he first preached at Carrickfergus, but, ultimately, settled at Larne, where he had a successful ministry.

After Blair, the most celebrated Presbyterian minister in the Established Church, was John Livingstone. Both his father and grandfather were clergymen, and he was descended from the fifth Lord Livingstone. He was born in 1603, and graduated in Glasgow University, where Robert Blair was one of his Professors. Becoming a preacher, his eloquence produced marvellous results. A sermon which he delivered in 1630, at the Kirk of Shotts, is said to have been the means of converting five hundred people. On the invitation of Viscount Clanebo, he settled in Killybegs, and was set apart to the office of ministry, by Bishop Knox


and other clergymen, acting as Presbyters. Mr. Livingstone was eminently successful in the work to which he devoted himself, and was often a sufferer for conscience sake. He assisted in carrying on the revival of religion; and, for that purpose, often went from Killinchy to Antrim, to attend the "meetings." On one of these journeys, he chanced to meet a young lady for whom he had already great esteem. As they travelled onwards, he "conferred" with her and the rest of the company, regarding a text on which he was to preach the next day. He found her conversation, on the subject in question, "so judicious and spiritual" that his mind was "cleared," and he asked her to be his wife. To this request, after meditation and prayer, she consented.

This revival was carried on for several years. It spread through Antrim and Down, and went to the "borders" of the neighbouring counties. The common people came in crowds to the public services connected with the monthly meetings. Some of the gentry helped in the work, and received blessings themselves. Among these were the Clotworthy family. Sir Hugh Clotworthy had obtained a grant of lands at Antrim, and went to reside on his estate. His eldest son, Sir John, was afterwards a distinguished member of the Long Parliament, sat in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and became the first Lord Massareene. This family was faithful to Presbyterian principles, and exhibited great hospitality to the ministers who came to attend the monthly meetings.

The cause of Christ now made rapid progress. Protestantism was united. The Gospel was faithfully preached by the ministers we have named, and by many others in Ulster, who dispensed with the liturgy, and conducted their services after Presbyterian forms. The creed of the Church was orthodox, the doctrine of Apostolic Succession was neither taught in her articles nor held by her clergy. Presbyterians and Episcopalians were united in one denomination on the platform of a common theology, with the right of private judgment on the question of church government. Sessions were established, and a strict discipline was maintained by these Presbyterian ministers, although, sometimes, they had trouble with "proud youths" of aristocratic families. But the truth made progress. The standard of morality was raised in all the "planted" parts of the province, and the people were prepared for a period of terrible trial which approached.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST PERSECUTION.

ING JAMES died on the 27th of March, 1625, and was succeeded by his son Charles. The new monarch was as faithless, tyrannical, and selfish as his father; but, while James was a coward, Charles was brave. Yet the posses-

sion of one good quality, rendered him more to be feared than his predecessor. While the arrogant assumptions of James excited the rage of his subjects, his cowardice caused their contempt. But the courage of Charles impelled him to draw the sword, that he might establish his Divine right to do wrong. Selfish to the core, he was perfidious from habit and from principle. He never understood the temper of the nation he governed, or found out that they had discovered his true character. The Episcopal Church flattered his vanity, and supported his pretensions. He, therefore, favoured it as a useful instrument to carry out his designs. He married Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV., King of France. But the Roman Catholicism of his wife was not nearly so obnoxious to him, as the Presbyterianism of his subjects in Scotland.

For some time after the accession of Charles, the faithful ministers in Ireland went about their work as usual, and the cause of God prospered in the land. Two friars challenged these ministers to a public discussion. Blair and Welsh agreed to meet them, but, at the appointed time and place, the friars were nowhere to be found. Then a number of English "Separatists," whom various circumstances prove to be Baptists, began operations in the village of Antrim—just as Baptists always after a revival, try to lead to the dipping-pond those who have stronger feelings than judgment. But Presbyterians were then less likely to listen to the teaching of religious nondescripts than now. The Antrim Baptists made only two or three converts, and never attained to any power or position in the locality.

Afterwards, an English Episcopalian, named Freeman, made an attack on the Calvinistic theology, taught by Presbyterians. But at a disputation between him and Mr. Blair, in Antrim Castle, "the Lord did smite him with such confusion that he spoke nonsense." The patron, Mr. Rowley, who at first seemed to favour Freeman, exclaimed: "We need no more disputation. I see evidently his erroneousness and ignorance of the Scriptures." And Freeman "deserted of the people who formerly admired him, turned very solitary, and at last fell into mischievous practices."

Almost all the English colony in Ulster sympathized with the views of those ministers of the Established Church who preached Calvinistic doctrine, and maintained Presbyterian worship and discipline. Archbishop Ussher, holding himself the principles of this party, became their protector. He treated Blair with great kindness and respect, brought him to Drogheda on a visit, and there told him that it would break his heart if the successful ministry of the Presbyterians in the Establishment was interrupted. Blair was so much impressed by the kindness and piety of Ussher, that he believed him to be a good man "although a Bishop."

In 1633, Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury. Under his leadership, a new party rapidly acquired power in the Church of England. Like the Ritualists of our own time, they imagined a nation might be as well without a church, as a church without Apostolic orders; and that Roman Catholics who preserved these

orders were nearer the truth than Presbyterians who rejected them. Hating the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism, they taught the Real Presence of Christ in the Communion, and most of the other distinctive doctrines of Popery. In politics, they firmly believed in the Divine right of the King to do wrong. Their enmity towards the Puritans, within their own Church, was greater than their enmity to the Catholics without it. They regarded the Catholic as an erring brother, but the Puritan as a stubborn schismatic, whose theology was dangerous to the Church, and whose politics were dangerous to the State.

The rulers of the Irish Church having imbibed the doctrines, adopted the policy of their brethren in England. Echlin, Bishop of Down, was the first who exhibited a disposition to compel his clergy to conform to the ceremonies, as well as to subscribe to the Articles of the Church. He began to lay snares for the Presbyterians. He directed Blair in writing to preach at an Episcopal visitation, then sent him a verbal message that another was to officiate, and, after all, left him to discharge the duty in question. In his sermon, Mr. Blair stated his principles most fearlessly. He quoted Ussher in support of his opinion that Bishops and Presbyters were the same class of officers, and exhorted the Bishops to use moderately the power they possessed from human and not from Divine authority. Soon afterwards, Echlin ordered him to preach before the judges then on circuit in the North. Blair did as directed, pleased at least one of the judges, and escaped without censure, although the other judge was violent in his opposition to Non-conformity.

The revival of religion spread from Ireland to Scotland. In June, 1630, Livingstone and Blair assisted at a communion in the Kirk of Shotts. Livingstone's sermon on the Monday, is said to have been blest to five hundred people. Its effects attracted the attention of many, and gave enemies of the Gospel an opportunity of making complaints. Mr. John Maxwell, an Edinburgh minister "who was gaping for a Bishoprick," and Mr. James Law, Bishop of Glasgow, complained of the schismatic conduct of the Irish ministers, and charged them with teaching that bodily pains were necessary to prove the reality of the new birth.

Echlin, Bishop of Down, now old and "timorous," displeased with the revival, and moved by the prevailing party in Ireland, suspended, in September 1631, Messrs. Blair, Welsh, Dunbar, and Livingstone. But Archbishop Ussher, on being informed of the matter by Blair, wrote Echlin to relax his "erroneous" censure. This order was obeyed, and the ministers returned to their work. But Maxwell hurried to London, and, through Laud, got the King to order the Lords Justices to direct Echlin to have these Presbyterian clergymen tried as fanatical disturbers of the peace. The Bishop, knowing that he would fail to get Blair and his friends condemned for favouring the fanaticism which they rebuked, asked them instead to promise conformity to the Episcopal ceremonies. This they refused, as such a promise was not required by either law or canon. But the Bishop was inflexible. And because they would

not yield conformity to that from which they were legally exempted, Messrs. Blair, Welsh, Dunbar, and Livingstone were, in May 1632, again suspended. When this sentence was made known to Ussher, he expressed his sorrow at being unable to interfere, as the order for trial had come from the King. Blair then went to London and presented a petition to Charles, in which he complained of being falsely accused. This petition was graciously received. In his reply, a clause was inserted by His Majesty's own hand to the effect that if the information against the brethren proved false, the informers should be punished. Unfortunately, the King's answer was addressed to Wentworth, who had been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Pending his arrival, Messrs. Blair, Welsh, and Dunbar recommenced the work of ministry, but Livingstone returned to Scotland.

Thomas Wentworth, born of a wealthy family, in 1593, began his public career as a patriot. But, in 1628, accepting high terms offered by Charles, he betrayed his party, for whom he had ever afterwards the animosity of an apostate. When he arrived in Dublin, Blair presented the King's letter, but Wentworth refused to remove the sentence, began to upbraid the petitioner, and to revile the Church of Scotland. Blair reported this refusal to Ussher, who, with tears in eyes, declared he could render no assistance.

At this period, high rents in Scotland were driving the people to Ulster at the rate of four thousand a-year. The wave of colonization moved westwards from Antrim and Down, and southwards from Derry. It passed over Tyrone, "The fairest and goodliest" county in the land. And, had this movement continued, the loyal population would soon have been so numerous as to fear no rebellion of the natives. But Presbyterians being then firmly attached to their faith, were not inclined to settle in a country where they would be deprived of Gospel ordinances. The persecution in Ireland soon checked immigration from Scotland, and prevented the growth of that part of the Irish population which was joined to Britain by the ties of race and religion.

In 1631, George Downham, Bishop of Derry, published a book, in which he upheld the final perseverance of the Saints. This work so excited the wrath of Laud that he wrote Ussher, ordering him to call in the copies circulated in Ireland. With this injunction the Archbishop complied, although the doctrines condemned were held by himself. On the death of Downham in 1634, John Bramhall, an Arminian and bigoted Prelatist, was appointed his successor. The same principle guided other appointments; so that the Church was soon ruled by men altogether different from those who ruled her in the past.

The Lord-Deputy, Wentworth, had now become very unpopular with the Ulster landlords, on account of looking sharply into the way they had fulfilled the contracts of plantation, by which they held their estates. He now thought it better to allay their fears for a time until he would obtain from Parliament some necessary supplies. This opportunity was turned to the best account, in

favour of the suspended ministers, by Lord Castlestewart, who was himself a Presbyterian. He represented to the Lord Deputy that it would be expedient to restore the deposed ministers, in order to soothe the feelings of the Northern Scots. Wentworth fell in with the suggestion, and, by his orders, Echlin, in May 1634, withdrew, for six months, his sentence of suspension on the four clergymen.

This unexpected freedom so astonished and overjoyed Blair, that, for three nights, sleep fled from his eyes. The first night he spent in admiration, the second in thanksgiving, and the third in preparation of a sermon, which he delivered next day to a vast congregation. Mr. Welsh* of Templepatrick did not long enjoy his liberty, as he died on the 23rd of June, 1634, from the effects of a cold caught during his suspension, by preaching in an open doorway to the people standing outside. Mr. Stewart of Donegore attended his funeral, and standing at the open grave said, "who knows who will be next?" Then he went home and took leave of his Church, calling on the timber and stones to witness that he had laboured to be faithful. Next day, he felt unwell, and a month afterwards was buried himself. Before death he foretold with "many groanings" the troubles which were about to fall on the land. He said the bodies of thousands would lie unburied on the earth, and that in Donegore, the nettles and long grass would be in greater plenty than ever were people to hear the Word of God. This prophecy was supposed to be fulfilled, a few years afterwards, when rebellion brought desolation to that part of the country.

So soon as the six months were expired, Wentworth, at the request of Bishop Bramhall, caused Echlin to renew his suspension of Blair and Dunbar. When the Bishop was about to pronounce sentence, Blair summoned him to appear before the tribunal of Christ to answer for his evil deeds. This is said to have produced such an effect on the guilty conscience of the Prelate that he died in great distress of mind, on the 17th of the next July.

Wentworth now effected such changes in the constitution of Trinity College, as to effectually exclude Puritans from places of power or profit in that Institution; and he determined to make a similar change in the Church. To him it was more hateful for a clergyman to preach salvation by faith than to lead an immoral life, or to keep an alehouse. Nothing, in the Irish Church, was so obnoxious to him as its Puritanism; and that Puritanism he determined to extinguish. Both he and Charles considered the great object of a Church was to render men obedient to royal authority; and, therefore, they

* Several families in Ulster claim descent from Josias Welsh, and, through him, from John Knox. Andrew Welsh, a great-grandson of the minister of Templepatrick, was, in 1733, ordained to the charge of Ardstraw. His eldest daughter was married to the Rev. Moses Nelson, D.D., of Rademon, and from them have sprung the Nelsons of Downpatrick. Another daughter of Andrew Welsh was married to Mr. Thomas Rogers of Edergole, Ballynahatty, and the Rev. Dr. Rogers of Londonderry is their great-grandson.

determined to exclude from its pale all who preferred to serve God rather than to obey the King.

A convocation of the Church was summoned to meet that this design might be accomplished. Bramhall ruled the upper house, and Wentworth himself, through Leslie and other creatures of his own, guided the proceedings of the lower house. One hundred canons were framed and adopted. By these, the thirty-nine Articles of the English Church were approved, and its various rites and ceremonies adopted. Wentworth succeeded in persuading Archbishop Ussher and the members of convocation, that to approve of the English Articles would not interfere with the authority of the Irish Articles. But this was a mere trick; for, afterwards, the Government regarded the Irish articles as abolished, because they had not been formally approved by any of the canons. Thus Wentworth crushed spiritual life out of the Irish Church, rendering it no longer possible for Presbyterians and other Puritans to remain in its pale, and laying the foundation of that sectarianism which has divided Irish Protestants into so many hostile parties.

At this convocation, Bishop Bedell introduced the subject of instructing the Irish through their own language. But Bramhall opposed the idea because he considered the native race so barbarous as to be incapable of instruction. Notwithstanding this opposition, it was enacted that "where most of the people are Irish, the churchwarden shall provide a Bible and two Common Prayer-books in the Irish tongue; and where the minister is an Englishman, such a clerk may be chosen as shall be able to read the service in Irish."

Wentworth now exercised the power of a Dictator in the State, and of a Pope in the Church. A court of High Commission was established in Dublin, which could deal with the life and property of every individual in the kingdom; and from which there was no appeal. He prevented Parliament passing certain "graces," which, in return for a large sum of money, the King had promised to all his Irish subjects, but chiefly to the Roman Catholics.

Doubtless some of Wentworth's plans when carried out, were beneficial to the Episcopal Church. He compelled many of the landlords to restore the Ecclesiastical property which they had unlawfully appropriated. By this means he raised the income of both rectors and bishops, and he provided funds by which many of the churches, then in ruins, were repaired.

Echlin was succeeded as Bishop of Down, by Henry Leslie, a Scotchman by birth, a bigoted Episcopalian, and a willing persecutor. In November 1635, he deposed Livingstone, and caused Melvin, minister of Downpatrick, to pronounce on him sentence of excommunication. But both Blair and Livingstone continued to preach the Gospel in private, at the risk of severe punishment.

It was now determined to make all clergymen conform to the new canons, and conduct worship according to the strictest Episcopal forms. At a visitation held by Leslie, in 1636, he required his clergy to sign these canons. Many consented with reluctance, and afterwards failed to carry out what they had promised. But Brice of

Broadisland or Ballycarry, Colvert of Oldstone, Cunningham of Holywood, Hamilton of Ballywalter, and Ridge of Antrim, refused to sign, although urged by the Bishop in private. Leslie now determined, by advice of Bramhall, to depose these faithful ministers. To carry out his decision, he held a meeting of his clergy on the 10th August, 1636, in the Episcopal Church, Belfast. The Bishop in his opening sermon tried to prove that Prelates were the Church, and, therefore, those who entered the ministry without their sanction, were only thieves and intruders, who should not expect by "their puff of preaching to blowe downe the goodly orders of our Church, as the walls of Jericho were beaten downe with sheepe's hornes." "Good God!" said he, "is not this the sinne of Uzziah, who intruded himselfe unto the office of the Priesthood?"

When this discourse was finished, the five brethren were called forward and challenged to a public discussion next day. They accepted the challenge, and appointed Mr. Hamilton to conduct the debate on their behalf. This discussion which excited intense interest, took place in presence of a large assembly of nobility, gentry, and clergy. Leslie was assisted by Bramhall; but Hamilton was more than a match for both. Driven from point to point, Bramhall, at last, lost his temper and said, "It were more reason and more fit that this fellow were whipped than reasoned with."

After a long discussion, the court was adjourned till the next day. But meanwhile Leslie was persuaded by Bramhall not to carry on the controversy; and when they re-assembled, he passed sentence of perpetual silence, within his diocese, on the accused brethren.

There were many ministers in Ulster, who, although they signed the canons to avoid suspension, continued in the retirement of their parishes to preach a pure Gospel and to conduct public worship according to Presbyterian forms. Soon afterwards, Mr. Brice of Broadisland died, leaving two sons and two daughters. The venerable Professor Killen of Belfast is the grandson of Blanche Brice, who was fifth in descent, from the minister of Broadisland.

Meanwhile Blair, Livingstone, Hamilton, and several others determined to emigrate with their friends and families to New England. They got a ship of 150 tons burden built at Groomsport. In this frail bark, named the *Eagle's Wing*, one hundred and forty Presbyterians set sail from "Loch-Fergus," on the 9th of September, 1636, ready to encounter the winds and the waves, that they might have freedom from persecution in the land of the Pilgrim Fathers. Among the emigrants were Blair, Livingstone, Hamilton, and M'Clelland. Mrs. Livingstone bravely accompanied her husband. The voyage turned out disastrous. Storms arose, and contrary winds drove them into Loch-Ryan. But again, they sailed westward till they were nearer America than Ireland. Then they encountered fearful storms of wind and rain from the north-west. The swellings of the sea rising higher than mountains, hid the mid-day sun. Their rudder was broken, and their sails torn. Leaks were sprung which required them to be constantly pumping. Huge

waves broke over the deck and tore up the planks, till at last they concluded it was the Lord's will that they should return. Having changed their course homewards, they made good progress, and, on the 3rd of November, came to anchor in Loch Fergus.

The deposed ministers remained for only a short time in Ireland. Blair and Livingstone, hearing that warrants for their apprehension were issued, fled to Scotland. The other deposed ministers sought refuge in the same country. They were followed by many of their faithful people, who preferred to leave their homes rather than be deprived of hearing the Gospel preached. Others, who remained in Ireland, were accustomed to visit their ministers at communion seasons, to the number of five hundred at a time. And on one occasion Livingstone, who settled at Stranraer, baptized as many as twenty-eight children brought from Ireland.

At Antrim, Mr. Ridge was succeeded by Mr. James Cunningham, brother of Mr. Robert Cunningham of Broadisland, and according to Dr. Campbell's manuscript, son of Mr. Robert Cunningham of Holywood. Mr. James Cunningham had travelled abroad with the Duke of Athol, and was one of the few men of great piety and learning then in the Irish Establishment. Through the influence of the Clotworthy family, he was settled in Antrim, where he had a successful ministry. One of his sons was killed at the siege of Derry, and another son died of grief at his brother's death.

In the Irish Episcopal Church there was now no power capable of resisting Wentworth. Supreme in the Church, he determined to be supreme in the State. In order to form a Plantation in Connaught he confiscated the whole province although held by patents from the crown. The proprietors were afterwards permitted to repurchase two-thirds of their lands, while one-third was reserved for planting a Saxon colony in the centre of Keltic influence. Pretending that the O'Byrnes of Wicklow held their property by a defective title, Wentworth compelled them to pay a fine of fifteen thousand pounds; and he so terrified the nobility, that many of them surrendered their patents and paid large fines to have their lands re-granted, although at increased rents.

The Corporation of London were condemned to pay £70,000 for the non-fulfilment of some conditions under which they held their estates in County Derry, and unduly raising the rents of tenants from less than one shilling to even ten shillings an acre. Their lands were now seized in the name of the King, and Bishop Bramhall appointed receiver of their Irish revenues.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONTEST WITH THE KING.

BUT the cup of the iniquity of Laud, Wentworth, and Charles was now almost full. Retribution swift and sure was only one step behind. The great object of the King was to render himself independent of every influence by which his power might be modified. But this could not be effected without a standing army, maintained by money voted by the representatives of the people assembled in Parliament. This the English Parliament refused to give. Then he endeavoured to raise taxes by his own authority, contrary to law and custom. Failing in the attempt, he tried a second and a third Parliament without better success. Then he agreed to a compromise, and ratified the Petition of Right, by which he engaged to never attempt to raise money without consent of Parliament, and to never imprison any of his subjects except according to the laws of the land. The Parliament then voted a supply; but in a few weeks, Charles broke his word, and placed some of the most distinguished patriots in prison. He now made peace with his enemies, and for eleven years ruled England without a Parliament. By means of the Star Chamber for political, and the High Commission for religious offences, the King could fine, imprison, or torture any of his subjects. For example, Dr. Alexander Leighton for publishing a book entitled "Zion's Plea against the Prelacy," was apprehended in London, whipped at a stake, placed in a pillory, had his ears cut off, his nose slit, and his cheeks branded. Prynne and many others received similar punishment for similar crimes.

In England, Laud directed most of the King's movements. The Bishops were ordered to extirpate Dissent; and some of them were soon able to report that there was not a single Non-conformist in their dioceses. The English Church surrendered to Laud, and followed him on his Rome-ward march without striking a blow. The Irish Church made a vain attempt to preserve her liberties, but lost her spiritual life in the struggle. There yet remained the Church of Scotland, which could neither be flattered nor frightened; which, although loyal to the crown amidst persecution, was not prepared to give up a single doctrine, or to adopt a single ceremony, at the bidding of a King whom she loved, or a Bishop whom she hated. The evil genius of Charles now tempted him to provoke a contest with this Church. Led by Laud to his destruction, he determined to compel her to accept of Episcopacy. And Episcopacy, obnoxious in itself, was to be introduced by imposing a liturgy—the most objectionable way in which the change could be made—as whatever strikes the senses produces a much stronger effect, than what appeals to the understanding.

When this liturgy was preparing, Charles introduced with his own hand deviations from the English prayer-book in the direction of Romanism. By virtue of the royal supremacy alone, the Church was ordered to receive a book of canons, by which the liturgy was made compulsory, absolution encouraged, and the Lord's Supper to be received kneeling.

On the 23rd of July, 1637, the liturgy was used for the first time in Edinburgh Cathedral. The vast crowd assembled were in a terrible state of excitement when the Dean proceeded to read the service. A young man ventured to cry "Amen;" but a woman struck him on the face. When the collect for the day was announced, another woman, named Janet Geddes, shouted out "The deil colick the wame of thee, thou false thief; dost thou say mass at my lug, villain!" and she hurled the stool on which she had been sitting, at the Dean's head. The other women ran and assisted to tear the surplice off his shoulders. A tumult now arose, and the riot soon became a Revolution. The nation sprang to arms. The National Covenant was renewed at Edinburgh, and before many months was subscribed by multitudes throughout the nation.

Charles, to conciliate the Church which he had failed to coerce, called, in 1638, "a free General Assembly," which met in Glasgow Cathedral, and sat from the 21st of November till the 20th of December. It was attended by 140 ministers, chosen by their Presbyteries, and by 98 ruling Elders. Many of these Elders were gentlemen of the highest rank, who came with their retainers fully armed. Among the ministers were Blair, Livingstone, M'Clelland, and Hamilton; while Sir Robert Adair of Ballymena was among the Elders. When the Assembly proceeded to censure the Bishops, the Marquis of Hamilton, his Majesty's commissioner, dissolved it in the name of the King, as head of the Church. But, since there was no law which gave the Sovereign this power, the Assembly proceeded with their business. They abolished Prelacy, condemned the liturgy, deposed the Bishops, and restored Presbyterian Church-government. In his closing address, the Moderator, Alexander Hamilton said, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho. Let him that re-buildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

Charles regarded the proceedings of this Assembly as acts of rebellion, and advanced northwards with his army, prepared to fight rather than permit the Scots to worship God without bishops. But the Scots were prepared to fight rather than have them. They assembled an army which they placed under command of General Leslie, who had studied war with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. Charles, fearing to attack the Presbyterians, promised to give almost everything they demanded, thus hoping to gain time in which he might raise supplies. But, failing to abide by his promises, the war broke out once more, the Scots were victorious at Newburn-upon-Tyne, and Charles, unable to maintain his armies without supplies, was constrained to call another Parliament. The Presbyterians, therefore, saved the liberties of

the nation, and as Grattan admits, became the "Father of the Constitution;" for the new Parliament sat till it made the political liberties of the country secure.

The Irish Presbyterians, strongly opposed to the forms of Prelacy, sympathized with their brethren in Scotland; and even the clergy of the Established Church failed to carry out the provisions of the canons they had signed. Bishop Leslie complains that they cut down the liturgy to the lessons and a few collects; and that, while these were reading, the people walked about in the churchyards, and then came rushing in to hear the sermon.

Wentworth now became alarmed. At the suggestion of Charles, he determined in 1639, to compel all the Ulster Scots above sixteen years of age, to swear that they would obey all the King's "royal commands." This declaration was known as the **BLACK OATH**. Commissions were issued to the northern magistrates to administer it in their districts. It was to be publicly read to the people, who were to take it on their knees. Scots who professed to be Roman Catholics, were exempted. But troops, sent to compel Presbyterians to swear, executed their orders with ruthless severity. Even Lord Claneboy deserted the principles of his youth, and became a persecutor himself. The Ulster Scots, horrified at the idea of declaring they would obey commands, which were certain to be contrary to the laws of God, and injurious to the liberties of the country, refused obedience at the risk of being committed to prison. Many were seized and brought to Dublin, where some were kept for years in confinement. A man named Henry Stewart was fined in five thousand pounds, his wife in the same amount, and his daughters and servant in two thousand pounds each. Unable to pay the fines, they were committed to prison. Many thousands of Presbyterians now fled to Scotland, and although they then felt banishment grievous, they afterwards blessed God for permitting them to be driven out of a country where they might have afterwards perished in the great rebellion.

Wentworth was now created Earl of Strafford, and raised from being Lord Deputy to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In order to assist the King in his war with Scotland, he collected an army of 9,000 men, chiefly Romanists, which he stationed at Carrickfergus. His great object was, by a military force, to aid Charles in carrying a scheme he called the "thorough;" which in reality was the establishing of an Absolute Monarchy. Finding that a large proportion of the Ulster Scots were prepared to give up their lives, rather than take the obnoxious oath, and that those who swore could not be depended upon, he formed the design of removing them all out of the country. But events in England now demanded his presence, and he left Ireland never to return.

Charles, having failed in his plans of raising money to carry on war with the Scots, summoned another English Parliament, which met on the 3rd of November, 1640, and is known as the **LONG PARLIAMENT**. It abolished the courts of Star Chamber and of High Commission, and released those imprisoned for Non-conformity.

Strafford and Laud were arrested, and both paid the penalty of death for their numerous crimes. The Irish Presbyterians, through Sir John Clotworthy of Antrim, member for the English borough of Malden, petitioned this Parliament for redress of their many grievances. They recounted the persecutions they had endured, they complained that their "learned and conscionable" ministers had been banished, and the care of their souls committed to illiterate hirelings, who received only five or ten pounds a-year; that the rectors, through connivance of their bishops, were non-resident, and the people perished for want of spiritual food; and that all this time masses were publicly celebrated "to the great grief of God's people, and increase of idolatry and superstition." They prayed Parliament to redress their grievances, and especially to restore their banished ministers.

CHAPTER IX.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

THE government of Ireland was now committed to Sir John Parsons and Sir John Borlase, both Puritans. Under their guidance, the Parliament abolished the Court of High Commission, and religious liberty was practically re-established. Roman Catholics and Non-conformists became members of Parliament, judges, and magistrates. The exiled Presbyterians began to return, and it seemed as if peace and prosperity were about to reign in Ireland. Yet this was the dawn of the darkest day in the history of our country.

Certain descendants of the Northern Chieftains whose estates had been confiscated at the beginning of the century, and others who had themselves gone away when very young, lived now at the courts of Rome and Madrid. These exiles, thinking the English were fully occupied with their own disputes, formed a plan with their friends in Ireland for expelling the settlers of Saxon race, and overthrowing Protestantism in the country. When this plot was almost ripe for execution, Charles, thinking he had gained Scotland by lately made concessions, and probably not knowing of the conspiracy, opened a correspondence with some Irish Roman Catholic leaders. He promised them many civil and religious advantages, including a legal establishment of the Roman Catholic faith in Ireland, if they would take up arms on his behalf, and disarm all Irish Protestants except the Ulster Scots, whom the King imagined he could unite with their kinsmen in Scotland. Reilly asserts that the scheme originated with Charles, who sent his instructions to Ormond and Antrim. But the leaders of the old Irish hearing of this design,

determined to begin the rebellion at once, to anticipate the Anglo-Norman families who were gained by Charles, and to rob and murder for their own advantage rather than for the advantage of the King. They determined to seize as many fortified places as possible, especially Dublin Castle, where there was a large store of arms. These designs were frustrated by a follower of the Clotworthy family, named Owen O'Connolly, a native Irishman who had turned Protestant, and become an elder in the Presbyterian Church. O'Connolly having obtained information concerning the plot from his foster brother, Hugh Oge MacMahon, came late in the evening of the 22nd of October, to the Lord Justice Parsons, whom he informed of the projected insurrection. The council were summoned, and means taken to defend the town and castle. Next day the Rebellion broke out all over Ulster. The native Irish, who hated work, and who also loved plunder more than they feared danger, sprang to arms on the first summons of their leaders. Charlemont was surprised by Sir Phelim O'Neill, who told Lord Caulfield that he had authority for what he was doing, probably referring to the King's commission. Almost everywhere throughout Ulster, the castles were taken; but Derry, Enniskillen, Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Coleraine were saved.

At first, the rebels acted with comparative moderation. They contented themselves with robbing the Protestants, stripping them naked, and sending them off defenceless. But they soon abandoned this moderation, and aimed at murdering the native Protestant population. Neither woman nor infant was spared. The brains of the children were dashed out before the eyes of their mothers, some were thrown into pots of boiling water; and some were given to pigs that they might be eaten. A Protestant clergyman was actually crucified. Many had their hands cut off or their eyes put out before their lives were taken. Others were promised protection on condition of their becoming the executioners of their own nearest and dearest relations; but if they accepted these terms, they were afterwards murdered themselves. Many were promised their lives on condition of conforming to Popery, but any who recanted were told that, being now in the true Church, they must be killed at once lest they might afterwards fall from the faith. Various calculations have been made of the number who perished, but it cannot be much under forty thousand.

As a body, the Presbyterians suffered less than other Protestants. Their leading ministers had been driven out of the country. Many of the people had followed. The few months of liberty which intervened between the execution of Strafford and the beginning of the rebellion, were not sufficient to enable many to return. The bishops who had banished both pastors and people to Scotland, saved them from destruction.

At first, the King's orders were obeyed, and the Scots suffered no injury. Many of them then succeeded in escaping; but some perished by being too confident. Mr. R. Stewart, of the Irry, near Stewartstown, whose wife was grand-daughter of the Earl of

Tyrone, had armed 600 Scots. Assured, however, by his Irish relatives, that none of his people would be injured, he disbanded his forces. But the very night these men reached their homes, most of them were murdered. Many Protestants fled for safety to the woods, where some perished of hardships, and others were devoured by wolves. At Oldstone, near Antrim, "about twenty women, with children upon their backs and in their hands, were knocked down and murdered under the castle wall; and about three-score old men, women, and children, who had licence to go unto Larne or Carrickfergus, were that day or next, murdered by the O'Hara's party, within a mile-and-a-half of the said castle." By way of revenge, a number of Protestants, accompanied by a few soldiers from Carrickfergus, killed about thirty Roman Catholics in Islandmagee. This lamentable occurrence has been magnified by Irish writers, until some have asserted that 3,000 natives were driven into the sea from the top of the Gobbins!

On the 15th of November, Sir Phelim O'Neill obtained possession of Lurgan by capitulation; but, on the 28th of the same month, he was repulsed from Lisburn. In December, he captured Strabane, which was defended by the widow of Lord Strabane. He fell in love with his fair captive, and married her soon afterwards. Augher, Castlederg, Omagh, and Newtownstewart were saved from the enemy. An arrangement for the protection of the Irish Protestants was now made between the English and the Scottish parliaments. A Scotch army of 10,000 was to be sent for the relief of Ireland, and as Ireland was a dependency of England, the English Parliament was to provide for their support.

A detachment of these forces, under General Robert Monro, arrived in April, 1642, and, at once, marched against the enemy, whom they defeated on their way to Newry. Having captured this town, they put the garrison to the sword. Some of the soldiers, without authority, took a number of Irish women, threw them into the river, and shot them while in the water. These soldiers were, however, punished for this cruel retribution of a cruel massacre. Monro now marched against O'Neill, who occupied Armagh; but before he could arrive, the Irish general burnt the town, murdered the Protestants, and retired to Charlemont. Sir John Clotworthy built a number of boats, by means of which he captured the vessels of the enemy on Lough Neagh. His forces put the Irish to flight near Moneymore, and saved the lives of about 120 Protestant prisoners who were about to be murdered. In the north-east, Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart defeated the enemy on several occasions and Strabane was re-taken. These vigorous proceedings restored comparative security to the greater part of Ulster.

About this time, Mr. John Deans, of Carrickfergus, contracted to supply Monro's army with butter at fourpence-halfpenny a pound, beef at one shilling and twopence for every eight pounds, and bread at three halfpence a pound.

CHAPTER X.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

THE Scottish forces were accompanied by their chaplains. Many of their officers were elders. The Episcopal clergy had been generally driven out of the country, and their people preferred the simple rites of Presbyterian worship. When four sessions had been organized in the army, it was determined to form a presbytery.

On the 10th of June, 1642, the first regular Presbytery of the Church in Ireland was constituted at Carrickfergus. It consisted of five ministers and four ruling elders. The ministers were Mr. Hugh Cunningham, who, about 1646, was installed at Ray, Co. Donegal; Mr. Thomas Peebles, who, in 1645, became minister of Dundonald and Holywood; and Mr. John Baird, who, in 1646, was installed in the Route; also, Mr. John Scott and Mr. John Aird, who returned to Scotland. Mr. Baird preached from the words, "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem." Mr. Peebles was appointed clerk, which position he held unto his death nearly thirty years afterwards. Mr. James Simpson and Mr. John Livingstone, although in Ireland, were prevented by distance from being present.

When it was known that this court had been established, applications began to be received from many districts for preaching of the Gospel. Sessions were erected in Antrim, Ballymena, Ballywalter, Bangor, Belfast, Cairncastle, Carrickfergus, Comber, Holywood, Donaghadee, Newtownards, and other localities, where it was determined to place pastors as soon as possible.

Bangor and Ballywalter petitioned the Church of Scotland to restore Messrs. Blair and Hamilton, their former ministers. A general petition from Presbyterians in Down and Antrim was presented to the same Assembly, requesting the restoration of those pastors whom "persecution of the prelates" had driven out of the country, and asking them to "superadd" other able men to lay "the foundation of God's house according to the pattern."

As the supply of ministers in Scotland was then limited, on account of previous persecution, the Assembly could not send any to settle permanently in Ireland; but they ordered Messrs. Blair, Hamilton, Ramsay, McClelland, Ballie, and Livingstone—six of their most popular preachers—to go there for a limited time.

Mr. Livingstone states—"The ministers who went, used for most part to separate themselves to divers parishes in several parts of the country; there being such a great number of vacant parishes, yet so as the one would also visit the place where the other had been. By this appointment I was sent over three months in Summer 1643, and as long in Summer 1645; and in Summer 1646 and in 1648 I

went thither. For the most part of all these three months I preached every day once, and twice on the Sabbath; the destitute parishes were many; the hunger of the people was become great; and the Lord was pleased to furnish otherwise than usually I wont to get at home. I came ordinarily the night before to the place where I was to preach, and commonly lodged in some religious person's house, where we were often well refreshed at family exercise. Usually I desired no more before I went to bed, but to make sure the place of Scripture I was to preach on the next day. And rising in the morning, I had four or five hours myself alone, either in a chamber or in the fields; after that we went to church, and then dined, and then rode some five or six miles more or less to another parish. Sometimes there would be four or five communions in several places in the three months' time. I esteemed these visits in Ireland the far best time of all the while I was in Galloway."

The Irish Church was now rapidly reorganized by these deputies from Scotland. Discipline was introduced. Those who had taken the Black Oath, who had conformed to Prelacy, or who led immoral lives, were not received into communion till they had publicly professed their repentance. But breaches of the Seventh Commandment were punished with special severity. For example, we read in the old Session Book of Templepatrick, that on the 17th of April, 1648, "Joyce Baylie and Oina O'donnally were ordered to stand before the congregation in white sheets and make public confession of their sins." In some respects, the session then supplied the place of a court of justice. It punished parties for beating their wives "on the Lord's day," cheating their neighbours, or being engaged in "unlawful expeditions," as well as for any of the other sins I have mentioned.

A few Episcopal ministers had remained in the country, and were conducting public worship according to the forms of the Prayer Book. The Presbytery, in an address, warned their people not to hear these teachers, or show any approbation of Prelatic worship. Some of the ministers in question having professed repentance for taking the Black Oath, submitting to Prelacy, marrying with a ring, or using superstitious rites in the Sacraments, were received into membership. Two Baptist preachers now appeared at Antrim, where a few of their sect still lingered; but Mr. Blair visited that locality to oppose them, and their principles made no progress.

Meanwhile the King had come to an open rupture with his Parliament. In August, 1642, the royal standard was erected at Nottingham; and many followed their monarch to fight for the institutions by which they were themselves oppressed. At first, success seemed about to smile on the cause of Charles; but after a time, all was changed. Oliver Cromwell arose to power. The army was remodelled. Respectable God-fearing men, who hated Popery and Prelacy as strongly as they loved truth, became soldiers, and received pay sufficient to provide, without plunder, the necessaries of life. With this army, the tide of war was soon rolled backwards. The forces of Charles were defeated in several

bloody battles, and the authority of Parliament became supreme.

A correspondence had been opened between the Scotch Assembly and the English Parliament regarding a uniformity of religion between the nations. As a result, an Assembly of Divines met at Westminster, who compiled the Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, and the Directory for Public Worship. This Assembly commenced their sittings on the 1st of July, 1643, although forbidden to meet by a proclamation of Charles. They were to consist of one hundred and twenty divines, with ten lords, and twenty commoners as lay-assessors, and seven commissioners from the Scots. Among the lay-assessors was Sir John Clotworthy of Antrim, who represented Malden in the Long Parliament. As almost all the members were English Puritans, it is incorrect to regard the Confession and Catechisms prepared by this Assembly as Scotch in their origin.

In the same year, as a result of negotiations carried on between the English Parliament, the Scottish Convention of Estates, and the General Assembly, a religious bond called THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT was drawn up by Henderson, and, with a few alterations, adopted by these bodies. Those who signed this document pledged themselves to maintain the Reformed religion, to extirpate Popery and Prelacy, to preserve the liberties of the kingdom, and to lead holy lives personally.

This solemn bond was accepted by the General Assembly, by the Convention of Estates in Scotland, and by the English Parliament. On the 25th of September, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, the Assembly of Divines, the Scottish Commissioners, and the members of the Commons, with uncovered heads and uplifted hands, swore to its provisions. A few weeks afterwards it was taken by the Lords, and an order was issued that it should be administered to every person in England above eighteen years of age. A similar course was pursued in Scotland. The Covenant was solemnly received by commissioners representing the Church, the State, and the kingdom of England. It was sent to the moderators of the presbyteries, and its provisions were to be subscribed by "all of understanding" throughout the country.

On the 4th of November, 1643, Owen O'Connolly was sent by Parliament to the commanders in Ulster, to make preparations for administering the Covenant in Ireland. For this purpose, the Rev. James Hamilton, and three other clergymen came over next spring. On the 1st of April, 1644, they presented their commissions to the Presbytery, and soon afterwards began the work of receiving signatures. The regiments took the covenant from their own chaplains, or if they had none, from the Scottish commissioners. Major Dalzell, who was afterwards noted as a great persecutor, was the only person connected with the army who refused to swear. Then came in crowds the people near the places where the regiments were stationed. They all joined willingly, except a few Episcopal ministers and some "profane and ungodly persons; so that there were more of the country become swearers than were men in the

army." Those who had taken the Black Oath were compelled to renounce it publicly before being admitted to the Covenant.

The commissioners appointed went from town to town to preach and explain the provisions of the document they carried. Having administered it in several places in Antrim and Down where troops were stationed, they set out for the extreme North. "From Ballymena they went with a guard of horse toward Coleraine, under one William Hume, of General Leslie's regiment. They went the next day (being Thursday) to the church, and few being present except the soldiers of the garrison, they explained the Covenant to them, and left it to their serious thoughts till the next Sabbath, being also Easter day. On this Lord's day the convention was very great from town and country. They expounded more fully the Covenant, and, among other things, told the people that their miseries had come from those sorts of people who were there sworn against, and specially from the Papists. The righteous hand of God had afflicted them for going so near the Papists in their former worship and government in the Church; and, whereas, the episcopal party endeavoured peaceableness with the Papists, by symbolizing with them in much of their superstition; the Sovereign, Holy Lord had turned their policy to the contrary effect, for their conformity with idolaters—going on in a course which had a tendency at least that way."

In this manner was the Covenant taken by the people throughout the greater part of Ulster. The commissioners rode along accompanied by an escort of cavalry to protect them from parties of the enemy roaming about. But their progress was slow on account of the badness of the roads, which went straight through deep bogs and over hills so steep that it was difficult to ride either up or down; while in the valleys between them the horses sank deep, and even the higher mountain roads were often a continual morass, as there were but few bridges, most of the rivers had to be crossed by fords, often impassable after rain.

But, notwithstanding all impediments, the commissioners proceeded diligently with their work. From Coleraine they went to Derry, and from Derry to the Presbyterian parts of County Donegal. They ventured even as far as Enniskillen without meeting any armed band of rebels. In some places the Papists fled at their approach, having a superstitious fear of their power, and imagining that it was by the sword Covenanters were determined to "extirpate" Popery.

In Ulster, the Covenant was taken by about 16,000 persons besides the army. It was given only to those "whose consciences stirred them up." But if we suppose it was taken by one-half of the adults it would indicate that there was still a Protestant population of 70,000 in that province after all who had perished in the rebellion.

"The Solemn League and Covenant

Cost Scotland blood—cost Scotland tears;

But it sealed freedom's sacred cause—

If thou'rt a slave, indulge thy sneers."

For some time the work of settling ministers in congregations proceeded but slowly. In 1642, Mr. John Drysdale was ordained in Portaferry, and Mr. James Baty in Ballyalter. Three years afterwards Mr. David Buttle was ordained in Ballymena, and Mr. Archibald Ferguson in Antrim; but from that time the work of settlement proceeded with great rapidity. In 1647, upwards of twenty congregations had permanent pastors, and several others had sessions and occasional supplies of preachers. Year by year a number of ministers came over from Scotland in the way described, and visited almost every district where Presbyterian settlers were without pastors. But, notwithstanding the spiritual destitution which prevailed, the church did not sanction laymen attempting to preach, unless they were "expectants" of the office of the ministry. A complaint having been made to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1640, against Messrs. Livingstone and Rutherford for encouraging private gatherings for prayer, the practice of several families uniting together for worship was condemned, and a strict law laid down that none should even explain the Scriptures in public except ministers or "expectants" approved by the Presbytery.

CHAPTER XI.

CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND.

THE power of the Irish rebels had been almost overthrown by the victories of Monro, when, in 1642, the celebrated Owen Roe O'Neill* arrived in Ireland. He was great-grandson of Matthew O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, and had been distinguished in the Spanish and Imperial services. Placed in command of the rebels, he determined to conduct the contest according to the rules of civilized warfare, and to punish all concerned in murder.

A General Assembly of the confederate Catholics, lay and clerical, met at Kilkenny, on the 24th of October, arranged for carrying on the war, and performed the functions of a Parliament. They handed over the endowments of the Episcopal Church to the Church of Rome. But, ere long, they began to negotiate with the King through the Marquis of Ormond, the Protestant head of the great Anglo-Norman family of Butler. Charles concluded these negotiations through the Earl of Glamorgan; and having conceded almost everything demanded by the confederate Roman Catholics,

* Owen Roe O'Neill was a *legitimate* son of the Earl of Tyrone's nephew, and not a *natural* son of his brother, as stated by some of our historians.

received from them in return the promise of troops to assist him against his English subjects.

In October, 1643, the Earl of Antrim escaped from Carrickfergus Castle, where he had been imprisoned by Monro, and made his way to the King at Oxford. He promised to send 2,000 Irish troops to assist the royalist chieftains in the Highlands, who, through jealousy of Argyle, rather than through love of Charles, were ripe for rebellion against the authority of the Parliament.

The first party of Antrim's Irish, under Alaster MacDonnell (sometimes called "Coll-Kittagh," or left-handed Coll, after his father), passed over to Scotland protected by a frigate. They captured, on the 2nd of July* 1644, Messrs. Weir and Hamilton, who were returning to Scotland. These gentlemen were kept a long time in prison, and endured such hardships that Mr. Weir died. Mr. Hamilton was at last exchanged, and had a successful ministry at Dumfries, and at Edinburgh. His son was successively minister of Benburb, Armagh, and Killinchy.

The Marquis of Montrose, at the head of the Highland Royalists and their Irish allies now took the field, and gained many victories. Having captured Aberdeen, his Irish forces were there distinguished for their great cruelty. They compelled those whom they killed to strip previously, lest their clothes, spoiled in the act of murder, might be rendered less serviceable to the murderers. "The wyf durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter befor her eyes, nor the mother for the son, nor the dochter for the father; which, if they war heard, then war they presently slayne also." Formerly when acting for the Covenanters, Montrose oppressed Aberdeen because it inclined to the Royal cause, now he murdered its inhabitants because they supported the very principles he had formerly punished them for opposing.

But the overthrow of Charles at Naseby, in 1645, enabled the regular Scotch army under Leslie to return. Montrose was completely defeated at Philiphaugh, and fled from the kingdom. Afterwards he returned, was captured, and on the 21st of May 1650, executed. This is the demon to whose memory the degenerate Scotch have erected a monument in St. Giles's Cathedral.

The war in Scotland drove many to Ulster, and was rather an advantage to the Presbyterians in Ireland. The Parliament, now completely victorious over Charles, sent three commissioners to Ulster, lest the Presbyterians might be induced to join Ormond and the King in opposition to the Sectaries, now rising into power. These commissioners acknowledged the acts of the Presbytery, ordered the Covenant to be tendered at places where it had not been received previously, and "they also did give a right of tithe of parishes to as many of the new entrants as did apply to them."

In 1646, the confederate Catholics concluded a treaty with King

* Hamilton M.S., p. 78. Reid states erroneously that they were captured on the 3rd of July, and he is mistaken in thinking Alaster MacDonnell was the "noted Coll-Kittagh."

Charles, to which the Papal Nuncio was strongly opposed. In this opposition he was supported by Owen Roe O'Neill, who, afterwards, got so many of his own creatures returned to the Assembly that he was able to control its actions.

O'Neill, with about five thousand foot and five hundred horse, now made a descent on Ulster. General Monro, with an army fully as numerous, took the field to oppose him, and marched to Hamilton's Bawn. Colonel George Monro, son-in-law of the General, at the head of a detachment, was coming from Coleraine to join the main body; while O'Neill, stationed at Benburb, was between these two divisions of the Protestant army. Fearing lest Colonel Monro might be overwhelmed by the enemy on his march, General Monro, on the morning of the 5th June, 1646, advanced from Hamilton's Bawn to Benburb, with the intention of crossing the river to attack O'Neill. But the old castle, with its four towers, stood in majestic grandeur on a cliff 100 feet high, which overhung its base, above the Blackwater, at the very spot where a ford rendered the passage possible. Monro, having viewed the position from a ridge of rugged hills just opposite to the castle, abandoned his intention of crossing there, and marched along the Armagh bank of the river, eight miles to Caledon. Even now there is but a narrow path which leads in the direction the Scots marched. They had, therefore, to toil over numerous rocky bramble-covered hills, and through the bogs which lay between them, dragging their cannons with immense labour. Then, having crossed at Caledon, they left their baggage there with a guard of 1,500 men, and marched back towards Benburb, along the Tyrone side of the river—over hills and through the fearful quagmires which then existed on the left bank of the Blackwater, from Knocknacloy to Tullygivin. They drove before them a party of Irish, under O'Ferral, who tried to obstruct their progress. Late in the evening, after a march of more than twenty-five miles, ready to faint with fatigue, they came in front of O'Neill, who occupied an advantageous position at Drumflugh, near Benburb, with the Blackwater on the left. The Irish army was placed on a range of hills, with valleys between them. O'Neill then addressed his men, telling them to behold the enemies of God and of their souls, exhorting them to fight valiantly against those who had deprived them of their chiefs and their children, who sought for their spiritual and temporal lives, who had taken their lands, and rendered them wandering fugitives.*

Monro opened fire with his cannons, and the enemy replied. At first, the Scots made some progress, but, being soon checked, they began to lose ground. O'Neill then advanced to the attack, and Monro ordered his cavalry to charge. But these were only Irish under English officers, and they retreated disorderly through the foot, making room for the enemy's horse to follow. Then another squadron of cavalry was hurled against the Irish; but they, being hard pressed, got mixed up with the foot, and all fell into disorder.

* O'Mellon's M.S. History.

O'Neill now charged with his pike-men, and the Protestant ranks gave way. At this critical moment a detachment of Irish cavalry approached from the North, returning from Dungannon, where they had engaged Colonel George Monro with doubtful success. This reinforcement enabled O'Neill to turn General Monro's left; while the charge of his pike-men had divided the Scottish army in two. One part was driven down the gently sloping hill from Derrycreevy and Carrowbeg to where the Battleford Bridge now crosses the Blackwater. Thistle Hill, steep and impassable was before them, the Irish behind, and on their right, while, to their left, was the river, dark and deep, even in the midst of summer. Into this river the fugitives—horse and foot—were driven in one surging mass. The waters rose high above those struggling in the stream for life. Yet the Scots pressed madly onwards, rushing in on the top of the dead and dying, in a vain effort to escape. It was, at last, possible to cross the river on the bodies of the dead; yet very few succeeded in getting over. Those behind were slain by the enemy, and it is admitted by O'Mellon that even the wounded were butchered as they lay on the field of battle.

The second and smaller division of Monro's army endeavoured to retreat backward to Caledon. But it is stated that many of them were drowned in Knocknacloy Lough. This is exceedingly probable as a marsh between the lough and the river was then impassable, and the cavalry who came from Dungannon would prevent the Scots retreating in the direction of Brantry, on the other side of the lough. Caught as in a net, most of the fugitives must have perished.

I am particular in giving these details because many accounts of this engagement are contradictory, each of the other, and are inconsistent with local traditions and the positive assertion of O'Mellon that the battle began at Drumflugh. Besides, the statement made by Carte, and all the historians who follow Carte, that O'Neill had the Blackwater on his *right*, is untrue; as, in that case, he would have drawn up his men with their backs to the advancing Scots. Immense numbers of leaden bullets have been found in the very spot where I am certain the battle took place. There also, graves can still be pointed out; while no relic of the engagement has been found on the banks of the Oona, where some imagine it was fought.*

More than 3,000 of Monro's troops lay slain on the field of battle. The General himself, without either hat or wig, escaped with difficulty, and Sir James Montgomery's regiment alone retreated in order; but Lord Montgomery of Ards was taken prisoner. O'Neill had only 70 killed and 200 wounded. He captured 1,500 horses and two months' provisions for the Scottish army. Having proceeded to Tandragee, which he was about to attack, the Nuncio summoned him south to counteract the influence of the

* Dr. Collier's statement that O'Neill won this battle in Co. Armagh is still more incorrect, as Benburb is in Tyrone, and Monro left Armagh when he crossed the river at Caledon.

party who had made peace with the King. O'Neill obeyed, and, marching to Kilkenny, threw away all the fruits of the greatest victory which ever the Irish gained over their Saxon masters.

The Presbytery were grieved at this sudden calamity; but it did not interfere with their labours in spreading the Gospel; and several congregations now obtained pastors. On the 7th of May, 1646, Mr. Patrick Adair was ordained minister of Cairncastle, near Larne, and, for a lengthened period, occupied a distinguished position among his brethren in the church. Mr. Thomas Kennedy was, in the same year, ordained at Donaghmore, two miles from Dungannon. Mr. Kennedy was elder brother of Mr. Gilbert Kennedy of Dundonald, and nephew of John, sixth earl of Cassalis, one of the lay-assessors of the Westminster Assembly. About the same time, Mr. Anthony Shaw was settled in Belfast, Mr. Thomas Hall in Larne, and Mr. Robert Cunningham in Broadisland. The work of supplying vacant congregations went on with rapidity. Presbyterians in great numbers now came from Scotland; and Ulster seemed about to enter on a new career of prosperity.

The Marquis of Ormond still held Dublin for King Charles. But, despairing of being able to gain the Scots, or to rule the Kilkenny Confederates, he agreed to surrender the city to Commissioners of the English Parliament. These Commissioners reached Dublin in June 1647; and one of their first acts was to substitute the Directory for the Prayer Book, as Prelacy had been previously abolished in England. But, as a body, they favoured the Independents, and were hostile to the Scotch influence in Ireland. On the 16th of July, the English regiments in Ulster, which were hitherto under Monro, were placed by Parliament under Colonel George Monk, one of the most renowned timeservers mentioned in history. Monro still kept the Scotch forces together; but next year he was surprised in Carrickfergus by Monk, and sent a prisoner to England.

The majority of the Long Parliament were Puritans, who desired to reform the Church on the basis of Presbyterianism. But several sects of enthusiasts had of late sprung up in England. Of these the most powerful were the Independents, who held that every congregation was a self-governing community, owning no subjection to either bishop or presbytery. Their chief leader was Oliver Cromwell, and they were as powerful in the army as Presbyterians in the Parliament. In political matters they aimed at a "root and branch" reformation, desiring to establish a commonwealth on the ruins of monarchy, while the Presbyterians desired to merely limit the King's power.

The Independents failed to prevent Parliament resolving to establish Presbyterianism as the National religion of England, but they succeeded in preventing that resolution from being carried into effect, and the Presbyterian system was not established anywhere except in Middlesex and Lancashire. Without organization it had no chance of surviving at the Restoration.

Meanwhile Charles tried to negotiate with both parties, at the

same time, in order to extirpate "the one and the other." But failing in these attempts, he surrendered himself to the Scottish army before Newark. The Scots having received payment for their services in England, gave up the King to commissioners of the English Parliament, lest it might be thought a breach of faith to bring him to Scotland. In June 1647, he was seized by the English army. The Parliament condemned this act, and determined to continue negotiations with His Majesty. But the Parliament itself was overthrown by the force which had rendered it supreme. Colonel Pride with a detachment of soldiers seized the Presbyterian members, or forced them to flee from London. After "Pride's purge," the remainder called the "rump," were controlled by the army and the Independents. The King was brought to trial, condemned, and on the 30th of January 1649, beheaded at Whitehall. The Commons now abolished the House of Lords and the Monarchy itself.

Meanwhile the Irish Catholics, disgusted with the insolence of Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio, had driven him from power. Ormond, who returned in September 1648, had made a treaty with the Confederates, and was soon at the head of an Irish army in the interest of the King. But Monk in the east, and Coote in the west of Ulster, held the greater part of that province for the Parliament.

The Presbytery, although in the power of these generals, protested against the execution of Charles, and the "insolent and presumptuous practices" of the Sectarian party in England. This representation evoked the wrath of John Milton, who, although he had sworn to the Covenant, was angry with the Westminster Assembly for condemning his dangerous doctrine of divorce. He published a reply to the Presbyterian protest so full of scurrility as to be unworthy of the greatest Englishman of the age. He calls Belfast a "barbarous nook of Ireland," and accuses the Presbytery of exhibiting "as much devilish malice, impudence, and falsehood as any Irish rebel could have uttered," and declares that by their actions he might rather judge them to be "a generation of Highland thieves and red-shanks."

For some time, there had been five distinct political parties in Ireland:—(1) the extreme Catholics under the leadership of Owen Roe O'Neill, who wished for the utter destruction of Protestantism; (2) the moderate Catholics, who had made peace with Ormond; (3) the royalists who supported the King "*without* the covenant;" (4) the Presbyterians who upheld "the King and the covenant;" and (5) the Republicans, represented by Coote and Monk.

Monk now left the country, and Coote, with about 1,000 men, the only Republican force in Ulster, remained in occupation of Londonderry. Sir Alexander Stewart, with the Presbyterian troops of the Lagan, sat down before that city in March, 1649, and until August it was closely blockaded. Sir Robert Stewart, uncle of Sir Alexander, joined the besiegers with a party of Royalists, and Sir George Monro, who had a commission from Charles, came with a

number of Highlanders and Irishmen. These commanders were afterwards joined by Lord Montgomery.

Montgomery had formerly pretended to be a zealous Presbyterian; and when taken prisoner at Benburb, the Scotch Assembly used their influence to procure his release. He had been lately, by the Council of the Presbyterian army in Ireland, chosen General to oppose the Republicans. But meanwhile, through Ormond, he received a commission from Charles II. to be Commander-in-chief of the Royalist forces in Ulster, and he determined to betray the principles he had sworn to defend. By his orders Sir George Monro left the other generals to conduct the blockade of Derry, and capturing Coleraine, came to attack Belfast, which was held by Colonel Wallace for the Presbyterians. Montgomery now hurried up his forces, as if to defend the town from Monro, and they were admitted on the 27th of June. He then threw off the mask, "produced his commission from the King, and discharged Wallace of his trust." Lord Montgomery and Monro now captured Carrickfergus, and on the 11th of July, Monro again joined the besiegers of Londonderry. Montgomery followed with a considerable force, and for some time the siege was vigorously prosecuted.

The Presbytery now finding that Montgomery was for the King without the Covenant, drew up, on the 7th of July, a DECLARATION warning their people against serving in the Royalist army. And very many Presbyterians immediately withdrew from the besiegers of Londonderry, exhibiting a readiness to obey the admonitions of their Church seldom shown now in our own days of degeneracy, when the tie connecting a Presbyterian with his religion is not nearly so strong as the tie binding him to his position in society, or to some political organization managed by the enemies of his country and his creed.

To the amazement of both friends and foes, Owen Roe O'Neill, in consequence of a private treaty with Coote, came on the 7th of August to relieve the city. Montgomery was compelled to raise the siege and return to his quarters in Antrim and Down. O'Neill took unwell before he left the neighbourhood, and soon afterwards died in county Cavan.

CHAPTER XII.

UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

OLIVER CROMWELL having rendered the Parliament supreme in England, and the Independents supreme in the Parliament, now came to Ireland to act as Lord Lieutenant. On the 15th of August, 1649, he landed at Dublin. On the 3rd of September he invested Drogheda which had been garrisoned by the best of Ormond's soldiers, most of whom

were English. A summons to surrender being rejected, Cromwell took the town by storm on the 11th, and put the garrison with many defenceless inhabitants to the sword. At Wexford he exercised the same severity. Other towns opened their gates when summoned. Venables sent north to co-operate with Coote, met him at Belfast which was taken on the 30th of September. On the 6th of December these generals gained a great victory over Lord Montgomery, not far from Lisburn. Heber M'Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, at the head of the Irish, was defeated near Letterkenny with great slaughter, and his head placed on one of the gates of Londonderry. The long contest was over. Ireland for the first time in her history was completely subdued.

The Independents being now supreme, began to set up a religious establishment of their own. Dr. John Owen came to Ireland as Oliver Cromwell's chaplain at a salary of £200 a year, while his wife and family, who remained in England, received £100 a year. Other Independent ministers came over, and for the next ten years received every encouragement from the State, but were never able to guide the religion, as they had guided the politics of the country. Independency wanted that cohesiveness necessary to enable a denomination to stand in the day of persecution, and with ten years to take root in the soil, left hardly a trace behind when the power by which it had been supported was overthrown.

After the execution of Charles, Parliament framed an oath termed the ENGAGEMENT, which bound all by whom it was sworn to renounce "the pretended title of Charles Stewart," and to be faithful to the Commonwealth. It was necessary to take this oath before obtaining any public office, and the Government tried to force it on the Presbyterian ministers. But they, as they still held the principles of a limited monarchy, refused to make the required declaration. Mr. Drysdale of Portaferry, Mr. Baty of Ballywalter, Mr. Alexander of Greyabbey, Mr. Main of Islandmagee, and others, were apprehended. Some of the remaining ministers went to Scotland, and some kept in concealment.

Soon afterwards, Colonel Venables offered to permit the imprisoned pastors to return to their abodes, and exercise their ministerial functions, if they would promise not to "touch on any other thing of State matters than what is allowed by the State of England." But this offer was refused. The ministers holding themselves under the moral tie of a government by King, Lords, and Commons, considered that by taking the engagement they would be swearing to destroy the interests, which in the Solemn League and Covenant, they had sworn to maintain. Notwithstanding this refusal, they were soon released, but, at the same time, warned to expect no favour from the government.

After Montrose had been executed, Charles II. came, by invitation, to Scotland, in June 1650; and, although he had previously embraced Popery, now solemnly swore he "would have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant—no friends, but the friends of the Covenant."

Cromwell, as Captain General of the English forces, marched against him with an army of 16,000 men. Leslie, who commanded the Scots, by his skilful manœuvring compelled Cromwell to retreat from Edinburgh to Dunbar. Thither Leslie followed, and against his own better judgment, left a position of advantage, descended to the plain, and offered battle to Cromwell. The Scots were defeated, and Edinburgh taken. Notwithstanding this disaster, Charles was crowned at Scone. The Scots now acted on the defensive, and Cromwell might have had difficulty in conquering the northern parts of the Kingdom, had not Charles, like a madman, marched to England, in a vain hope of being joined by the people. He was swiftly followed by Cromwell, and on the 3rd of September, 1651, completely defeated at Worcester. He now fled from the Kingdom, and Cromwell was supreme.

During all this time, the Irish Presbyterians were closely watched lest they might espouse the interest of Charles. By a council of war, an act of banishment was pronounced against their ministers. Many of them fled from the country, and others, in the dress of farmers, travelled through their parishes and preached in private houses, or in the fields at the risk of imprisonment. The "engagement" was now pressed on the occupants of public offices, and heavy penalties inflicted on those who refused to swear.

But after Charles left the Kingdom, the Government of Ireland seemed less inclined to persecute Presbyterians, although the Roman Catholic faith was repressed with great severity. Cromwell, when in the country, had been asked by the governor of Ross for a promise of religious liberty as a condition of surrender. In reply, he declared he did not meddle with any man's conscience; but if a liberty to "exercise" the Mass was meant, that would not be permitted where the Parliament of England had power.

During the period of Episcopal ascendancy, the practice was to press with full force against Presbyterians the penal laws seldom enforced against Catholics. The Papist was pardoned, and the Presbyterian punished for violating the provisions of the same enactment. But now, the Republicans began to permit Presbyterian pastors to exercise the functions of their office, although Romish priests were punished with severity. Through the intercession of Lady Clotworthy, mother of Sir John, Mr. Fergusson got leave to return to his work, and others came back about the same time. Even the Episcopal Church was treated tenderly. Some of the bishops received small pensions, and several of the clergy lectured in private.

After the death of Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, Fleetwood, who married his widow, was appointed commander of the forces in Ireland, and one of the Commissioners who conducted the Government. Sir Phelim O'Neill and many who had committed murder in the rebellion of 1641, were now captured and executed. About this time some Baptist ministers came to Ireland, and divided the sectarian interest with the Independents. These preachers were exceedingly ignorant and overbearing, but they did not make much

impression. The old Episcopal party, however, joined with them to strive to maintain the persecution of Presbyterians.

In England, many new sects now sprang into existence. The fanaticism which produced Independency produced other forms of Nonconformity. A wave of religious enthusiasm passed over the country, and the feelings of different men manifested themselves in different sects. The Quakers imagined they spoke by direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost. They did not administer either baptism or the Lord's Supper, and they rejected a Gospel ministry. The Fifth Monarchy men desired to abolish all government, that they might prepare for the second coming of Christ. The followers of Lodowick Muggleton held as an article of faith that the sun was just four miles from the earth. Other sects taught doctrines equally absurd, and it required a dictator to bring order out of chaos.

Cromwell saw that his opportunity was now come. On the 20th of April, 1653, he went with 300 men to the House of Commons, ejected the members and locked the doors. And, although he sometimes afterwards consulted an assembly called a Parliament, which consisted of members from the three Kingdoms, he was, until his death, virtually Dictator of Great Britain.

Shortly before Cromwell's usurpation, Colonel Venables, Dr. Henry Jones* and other commissioners came to Carrickfergus to offer the Engagement. They sent soldiers to search for papers in the houses of Presbyterian ministers. From Mr. Adair, they took a large number of documents, one bundle of which contained the Presbytery's Representation against the Sectaries, and another paper which condemned the "horrid crime" of "murdering" the King. That night, the sergeant and soldiers kept these documents in the chamber where they lay. But while they slept, a servant maid went cautiously into their room, brought away a bundle of the papers, and sent them to Mr. Adair in the morning. This proved to be the very bundle that contained the only documents which he had feared might fall into the hands of the authorities.

Next week, the commissioners summoned both pastors and people to appear at Carrickfergus to take the Engagement. "The whole country" came, as required, but refused to take the oath at the risk of imprisonment. For a few days it seemed as if a period of persecution was about to set in. But the commissioners having heard of Cromwell's usurpation, suddenly assumed an appearance of great moderation. When the ministers fully expected to be arrested, and sent to England in a frigate, which was then stationed near Carrickfergus, they were told to go home, preach the Gospel, and live "peaceably."

About this time the Parliamentary commissioners in Dublin

* Dr. Jones had, in 1645, been made bishop of Clogher. He afterwards turned republican, joined the Regicides, and became scout-master general in Cromwell's army, where he was noted for deeds of cruelty. After the restoration, he returned to the Church, and continued to discharge his Episcopal functions.

determined to compel a large number of Presbyterian ministers, landlords, and tenants to remove to Munster and Leinster, where they were to have lands on favourable terms, and to enjoy liberty of conscience. Sir R. Adair, Mr. Shaw, and other leading Presbyterians went to view the sites of the proposed settlements. But Cromwell adopted other plans of "planting" Protestants in Roman Catholic districts, and the Ulster Presbyterians remained unmolested.

In 1641, less than one-third of the landed property in Ireland was owned by Protestants. But now as a result of vast confiscations, they became owners of three-fourth of the whole country. What remained to Roman Catholic landlords in Ulster, Leinster, or Munster, had to be exchanged by them for an equivalent in Connaught. Many grants were made to soldiers of Cromwell, and, on these lands, Protestant settlements were established. Every Popish priest was banished, and the celebration of the rites of Romish worship repressed with ruthless severity. But the rule of the Protector did not last long enough to firmly establish Protestantism in the South and West: unfortunately it lasted long enough to make that religion detested by the Kelts; and the "curse of Cromwell" has ever since been a proverb.

The exiled ministers returned to Ireland, and at the same time came others who had not been there previously. The Presbytery soon became so large that it was divided into a number of committees, called the "meetings" of Antrim, Down, Lagan, Route, and Tyrone, which had power to do specified work. Many settlers arrived from Scotland and from England; and the Presbyterian Church grew with the growth and strengthened with the strength of the kingdom. The twenty-four ministers of 1653 soon increased to above seventy. A strict discipline was maintained, and the Presbytery was kept free from the disputes by which the Church of Scotland was then agitated. These disputes began in 1650, when a commission of the Church sanctioned the admission of royalists and others supposed to be enemies of religion into places of civil and military power. This action was confirmed by the Assembly of 1651, and twice afterwards. A strong minority protested, and the two parties became known as Resolutioners and Protesters.

But in Ireland, the Presbytery passed an overture in 1654, called the ACT OF BANGOR, by which ministers were bound, in all their public ministrations, to refrain from taking part with either of the disputants in Scotland. This Act was the means of maintaining the internal peace of the Church in connection with her external prosperity.

About this time, Messrs. Adair and Stewart, with Sir John Clotworthy and Captain Moor applied to Fleetwood and the Council to take off the sequestration of the tithes and grant them to the ministers as a legal maintenance. This Fleetwood refused, but promised to all who applied, yearly salaries, to be paid by the treasury at Carrickfergus. These salaries the ministers accepted, although much preferring their "legal maintenance," even when less.

It is stated by Dr. Reid that about 150 clergymen now received payment from the Government; and that, of these, six were Presbyterians, twelve Episcopalians, and the others Independents or Baptists. But it is certain, that many more than six Presbyterian ministers drew salaries. Adair states positively that none of those in settled charges, who applied for grants, were refused. In County Down alone, salaries were received by at least fourteen ministers who were Presbyterians—Fleming, Livingstone, Gregg, Cornwall, Richardson, Hutchinson, Gordon, Drisdale, Ramsay, Peebles, Stewart, M'Cormick, Campbell, and Bruce. These grants were generally £100 a year—which would be equal to three or four times the same amount now.

In 1655, Henry Cromwell returned to Ireland, as commander of the army, to counteract the power of the Baptists. He brought over some Independent ministers, among whom was Stephen Charnock, author of a work on the Divine Attributes. Cromwell governed Ireland with vigour and success. Gradually he became more favourable to the Presbyterians; and, after he had been promoted to be Lord Deputy, he summoned a meeting of Presbyterian and Independent clergymen to devise some uniform method of maintenance different from the “mongrel sort of way” between tithes and salary by which they were then supported. A plan was adopted of giving ministers their “legal maintenance” of tithes, and of so “moulding parishes” that each would produce at least £100 a year. This plan was never fully carried out. But in 1660, above sixty Presbyterian clergymen obtained from the Convention a legal right to the tithes of the parishes where they were settled. This continued, however, for only “that year and the next till the bishops were established.”

During the administration of Cromwell, we find the sect of Quakers beginning to appear in Ireland. William Edmundson established a meeting at Lurgan where he had seven converts. He and John Tiffin began to address the people at fairs and markets on the corruptions of the ministry, the evils of steeple-houses, the sin of hat-honour, and the blasphemy of oaths. Afterwards two females of this sect travelled on foot through Ulster in winter, wading rivers and walking on the narrow paths which went in a direct line over hills and through bogs. But they all failed to make many converts. At Belfast, Edmundson and his friends could find only one inn where the proprietor would consent to entertain them. The Presbyterian people were then too firmly attached to the principles of their church, and had too much confidence in their pastors, to be led by a religion of mere feeling, after the manner in which they now follow Baptists, Salvationists, or Plymouthists.

About this time, Mr. John Livingstone was again called by the parish of Killinchy to resume his pastorate among them; but the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale refused to “transport” him thither. However, he came on a visit, and found that the rebellion had worked such a change on his old parish, that he did not know more than ten or twelve of its inhabitants. During his sojourn in Ireland,

he preached in many places, and attended a meeting of the Presbytery, which seemed to him like a Synod, as above thirty ministers and about seventy elders were present. Many of these elders represented parishes, still destitute of a permanent ministry, which were supplied by the placed ministers in their turn.

Edmundson, the Quaker, was then in Armagh Jail. The keeper owned a public-house at which Livingstone stopped when visiting that neighbourhood. " 'Twas," said Edmundson, "on a seventh day of the week he came; I was then fallen sick and in bed. The priest lodged in the next room, so that I could hear what they said. Towards evening many Presbyterians came to visit their minister, and he read a chapter and expounded it unto them, sung a psalm and prayed; after which they left him that night." When Edmundson was liberated he took a farm near Belturbet in order to have an opportunity of refusing to pay tithe, and thereby obtain the satisfaction of being punished for his obstinacy.

The Great Protector died on the 3rd of September, 1658, and his son Richard was proclaimed his successor. Henry Cromwell was now promoted to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and continued to rule the country with wisdom and vigour. In the five years of his government, more progress was made in reducing Ireland to subjection than in fifty years under the Stuarts. Rebellion had been subdued. Life and property had been rendered safe. Liberty of conscience for almost all classes of Protestants had been established. Many settlers from England and Scotland had been "planted" in the Keltic districts of the South and West. In Ulster, marshes had been drained, woods cut down, and farm houses built. Landlords had now begun to reap the advantages of higher rent. The Presbyterian colonists had not been absorbed or modified by the Irish as their Anglo-Norman predecessors had been in the past. The Kelts themselves were beginning to learn the language and to adopt the custom of their conquerors. Presbyterianism made rapid progress. Congregations were established not only in Antrim, Down, and Derry; but in Tyrone, Armagh, and other counties. As the wave of colonization flowed onwards, ministers went along with their countrymen. There were now in Ireland about seventy Presbyterian clergymen, having under their care eighty congregations, and nearly one hundred thousand people. The Presbytery had become so large that it was sometimes called a Synod.

For some time, Richard Cromwell seemed firmly placed in his father's position. He summoned a Parliament by which he was recognized as first magistrate of the Commonwealth. But the army began to plot against their new master, whom they compelled to dissolve the Parliament. The Parliament was dismissed by Richard, and Richard by the officers. The old Rump was again brought into power, and they declared there would be no first magistrate; but they were soon dispersed by the army. Moved by fear, an alliance was then formed between the Royalists and Presbyterians. George Monk, who commanded the parliamentary army in Scotland, now marched into England, and on the 3rd of February, 1660, entered

London. On his invitation, the expelled Presbyterian members returned to the House of Commons and became the majority. By orders of Monk, writs were issued for a Convention, and of this body the Presbyterians formed a majority. Having first saved the nation from the tyranny of Charles, they now saved it from the tyranny of the army; but unfortunately they put their trust in princes.

A letter, sent by Charles to the Commons, from Breda, contained his celebrated Declaration, in which he promised a general pardon and liberty of conscience as conditions of his recall. The excesses of the Baptists and Independents had produced such a reaction in England that even Puritans were willing to try the King without the Covenant, rather than be ruled by officers like Lambert, or by legislators like Praise-God Barebone. The promises of Charles were accepted by the Convention, who invited him to return, without placing any legal limit on his acknowledged prerogatives. Recalled by a Presbyterian Convention, he became distinguished as a persecutor of those to whom he owed his throne; and, while some of the political liberty for which the people and the Parliament had fought was maintained, the religious liberty which they had won was entirely lost.

In Ireland, Coote declared for Charles, took Dublin Castle, and, by Presbyterian support, became master of the Kingdom. A Convention was called, which, in February 1660, met in Dublin. A majority consisted of Episcopalians. Yet, until the wishes of the King were known, they seemed to favour Nonconformists, and the Rev. Samuel Cox, a Presbyterian, was chosen chaplain. Sir John Clotworthy was deputed to treat with Charles, but the rapid march of events prevented any results for good. The Convention deprived Anabaptist ministers of their salaries, but gave to the Presbyterian pastors and to about a hundred others reported to be orthodox, a right to the tithes of the parishes in which they were placed.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SECOND PERSECUTION.

CHARLES, although he cared little for any religion, preferred Roman Catholicism, to which faith he had been already reconciled in secret. He hated the principles and feared the politics of the Puritans within and the Non-conformists without the Episcopal Church. And although Presbyterians were ready to accept of the King with the Covenant, he preferred the Episcopal party who hated the Covenant as strongly as they loved the King. His desire for power was more likely to be gratified by a

church, whose ministers taught he had a Divine right to do wrong, than by a church which advocated limitations to his authority. Besides, the favourite vices of the monarch were vices to which Presbyterians show no indulgence. He therefore lent his influence to re-establish Prelacy, as more lenient to his faults, more hopeful for his ambition, and more like the form of worship he preferred.

In England, the Convention was succeeded by a Parliament. The excesses of the numerous sects of religious fanatics had produced a re-action in the mind of the nation, and the Prelatic party obtained a majority. Episcopacy became the established religion of England as the Act by which it was formerly abolished had never been signed by the King.* But there was not yet any law to exclude from the Established Church, those ministers who had not been Episcopally ordained, and until such was passed they still remained in their charges. The English Puritans were ministers in connection with the Church they desired to reform; and although the Parliament itself had determined to establish Presbyterianism, that resolution had never been carried out except in Middlesex and in Lancashire.

The fanaticism of the Sectarian party had caused such fear, and their condemnation of innocent pleasures had caused such disgust, that the minds of the younger part of the population reacted towards Prelacy. The Episcopalians being supreme in the Parliament, soon began to act with intolerance. They ordered the Covenant to be burnt, and the liturgy to be used without modification; and, for the first time, Episcopal ordination was made necessary for holding the position of a clergyman in the Established Church.

An Act of Uniformity was passed (1662), which required every clergyman, if not Episcopally ordained, to submit to ordination by a Bishop, adjure the Covenant, and renounce the principle of taking up arms against the King under any pretence. It was made a crime under heavy penalties, to attend a Nonconformist place of worship. Ministers who refused to submit, were deprived of their livings and prohibited from coming within five miles of any town in which they resided, or of any town which was governed by a corporation, or which returned a member to Parliament.

Two thousand clergymen who refused to conform, were driven out of their parishes, and subjected to all the penalties permitted by law.

Those who remained, dwelt chiefly in their sermons on the sin of resisting any of His Gracious Majesty's commands. Restored to power by libertines, they refrained from condemning the favourite vices of those by whom they regained their authority. The spiritual life of the Church passed away with the Puritans, and every class of those who were left fell beneath the prevailing immorality.

* It was not, therefore, necessary to repeal that Act, as is stated in Killen's edition of Reid (vol. ii., p. 266, note).

Meanwhile the Bishops hastened to Ireland and took possession of their sees. Bramhall was elevated to the primacy, and Jeremy Taylor was made Bishop of Down and Connor. Jones of Clogher, noted for his bloody deeds when scoutmaster in Cromwell's army, returned to his diocese.

At the request of the Bishops, the Lords Justices issued a proclamation forbidding all unlawful assemblies, under which term Presbyterian church-courts were included. The Synod had met at Ballymena, and a troop of horse were sent to "scatter the brethren." But the meeting was over before the troopers arrived. Jeremy Taylor, who had written so eloquently about "The Liberty of Prophesying," was now active in depriving Presbyterians of what he claimed for himself. In the days of Sectarian supremacy, he had been compelled to answer in Dublin, for the crime of baptizing with the sign of the cross, and, probably, he was glad to be able to punish Presbyterians for the injuries he had received from Anabaptists. Although Prelacy had never been legally abolished in Ireland, there was no law to prevent ministers not episcopally ordained from holding benefices. But, notwithstanding the opportunity thus possessed by Taylor of showing mercy, he ejected thirty-six Presbyterian pastors in one day from their livings. Other Bishops soon followed his example, and every Presbyterian clergyman in Ireland had now to choose between embracing a system he had sworn to extirpate and losing his means of support.

In all Ireland, only eight Presbyterian ministers conformed. Reid gives a list of sixty-one, who for conscience sake renounced their livings and rendered themselves liable to bitter persecution. But probably there were others, such as the Rev. Hope Sherriod of Armagh, whose names are not included in the list. Most of those who conformed were men of no deep religious principles, such as Milne of Islandmagee, who was afterwards found guilty of intemperance, incontinence, and neglecting his cure.

After an interval of nearly twenty years, the Irish Parliament met on the 8th of May, 1661. In that assembly the Episcopal party were predominant. Sir John Clotworthy, who had been lately created Lord Massareene, was the only friend upon whom Presbyterians could depend in the House of Lords. The nobility were now as ready to conform to Prelacy as they had been formerly to take the Covenant. Nor was the position of Presbyterians much better in the Commons, since most of the members were returned by the territorial aristocracy, who had now begun to worship the rising sun of Episcopacy. Besides, the geographical distribution of Presbyterians was exceedingly unfavourable to their political power, as they were chiefly confined to five counties in the North-east, while Episcopalians were spread over the whole country. A Declaration was issued by the Parliament forbidding all Non-conformists to preach. This Declaration was adopted in the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Montgomery of Ards, now forgetful of the efforts made by the Church he deserted to obtain his liberty when a captive; and who, in subscribing the Covenant twice, had

twice sworn to maintain what he now strove to overthrow. The magistrates of every town of importance in Ireland were ordered to burn the Covenant, and they all obeyed, except Captain Dalway of Carrickfergus, who for his disobedience was brought on his knees to the bar of the house, and fined in a hundred pounds. But the fine was remitted when he produced a certificate proving that he had complied with the injunction.

The ejected Presbyterian ministers remained in the country, and carried on their pastoral visitation as usual. In the silence of the night, they addressed meetings and administered the sacraments. Mr. Thomas Kennedy, when ejected from the parish of Donaghmore, remained among his people and officiated in a log house near Carland. For this act of disobedience he was imprisoned in Dungannon jail, where he was not permitted to see or even to receive letters from his wife. But, nevertheless, Mrs. Kennedy visited the prison daily, bringing food of her own cooking and changes of linen for her husband. This food and clothing the cruel jailor used for himself. Mr. Kennedy, although a near relative of the Earl of Cassilis, was treated as the lowest felon, and for several years, was kept in confinement. Being at last released by the influence of some English and Scotch noblemen, he removed to Scotland, where, for some time, he had charge of a congregation. After his return to Carland, there came one day to his door a beggar, whom Mrs. Kennedy recognized as her husband's jailor and persecutor. When the old man "discovered who she was, he quailed and trembled. She ran up stairs as he supposed to avenge herself by bringing some one to punish him. On her coming down with a large dish of meal to him, tears dropped from his withered cheeks, when in a soft tone she said 'this is my mode of avenge, to tender good for evil.'"^{*}

Three of the ejected ministers—Bruce of Killinchy, Crookshanks of Raphoe, and M'Cormick of Magherally—began to address large meetings in public, and to speak plainly against the bishops. By this they pleased the multitude, and obtained more liberal contributions for their support than the other ministers who laboured in private, and lived on "any small thing they had of their own among their people, without maintenance from them." But soon these young men had to leave the country, and their flocks were now deprived of that instruction which they might have still received had their

^{*} Stewart's M.S. History of Carland. The Rev. Thomas Kennedy, was "son of Colonel Gilbert Kennedy of Ardmillan, in Ayrshire, and nephew of John, sixth Earl of Cassilis, one of the Scottish noblemen appointed to act as lay-assessors at the Westminster Assembly." Mr. Kennedy's brother, Gilbert, settled in Dundonald. The following is the line of descent from Thomas Kennedy to the minister of Aghadoey. (1) Rev. Thomas Kennedy; (2) Rev. John Kennedy (Benburb); (3) Rev. Wm. Kennedy (Carland); (4) John Kennedy, Esq.; (5) Rev. Robert Kennedy (Ballyhobridge); (6) Rev. Gilbert Alexander Kennedy, Aghadoey.

pastors acted with prudence. The Episcopal successors of the ejected clergymen were sometimes received by their congregations with manifestations of hostility. At Comber, when the new minister proceeded to read the service, a number of females dragged him from the desk and tore his surplice to pieces. One of these women, at her trial, held up her hands and said "These are the hands that pulled the white sark over his head."

The Duke of Ormond, who now became Lord Lieutenant, was disposed to tolerate Presbyterians. By advice of Lord Massareene, Messrs. Adair, Stewart, and Semple went as a deputation to His Excellency to request more religious liberty, and endeavour to vindicate themselves and their brethren from continual charges made by their enemies. The Duke said he was in a strait what to do with these ministers. Formerly they had suffered *for* the king—now they were likely to suffer *under* the king. When this question was brought before the council, the Bishops opposed the idea of toleration, and Lord Massareene could not command a majority. The deputation were accordingly told that they must live according to law, and that they might serve God in their families without gathering multitudes together.

Notwithstanding this injunction, Presbyterians were now permitted to enjoy a little more liberty, and their position might have been soon further improved, had not a plot been formed against the Government, by Thomas Blood, who had been an officer in the King's army, but his associates were generally Cromwellians. Mr. Lecky, his brother-in-law, was the only Presbyterian minister who entered into his designs. This plot, instigated by folly, ended in disaster, as the conspirators were arrested on the very day they had determined to attack Dublin Castle. Blood escaped, but Lecky was captured, tried, and executed, after refusing an offer of life, on condition of conforming to Episcopacy. Mr. Adair was arrested and brought to Dublin. Several other ministers, seized on suspicion, had never heard of the conspiracy. Of these, some were imprisoned in Carrickfergus; and seven were confined in Carlingford Castle, where they might have starved had not a woman, named Clark, supplied them with the necessaries of life. When it was seen that Mr. Adair knew nothing of the plot, he was, by influence of Lord Massareene, released from jail, and committed to the custody of His Lordship. The other imprisoned ministers were, by orders of the King, permitted to choose whether they would leave the country or be sent to strange prisons. All except two chose to leave Ireland, but some, through the influence of friends were permitted to remain in the country as private individuals. Afterwards, when the Duke of Ormond found that the Ulster Scots were in reality innocent of all complicity in the plot, he gave them indulgence for six months, during which time they were not to be troubled for Non-conformity. Before this period had expired, Bramhall, the Primate, died. Margetson, who succeeded, was mild in his disposition, and the Presbyterians, through him, obtained an additional six months' indulgence.

But Leslie, Bishop of Raphoe, son of Leslie of Down, summoned

to his court Messrs. John Hart, Taughboyne; Thomas Drummond, Ramelton; William Semple, Letterkenny; and Adam White, Fannet. On their failing to appear, he passed on them sentence of excommunication, and condemned them to confinement in the common jail of Lifford; but through the indulgence of the sheriff, they were permitted to dwell together in a private house. Notwithstanding many efforts made to obtain their release, they were kept prisoners for six years. At last, a petition on their behalf was presented to the King, who, when informed that they had previously suffered for being royalists, wrote the Lord Lieutenant ordering their release, which, in October 1670, was effected.

The Irish Parliament, in 1665, required the clergy to adopt the revised English liturgy; every minister not in holy orders, "according to the form of Episcopal ordination," was declared incapable of holding an ecclesiastical benefice from the 29th of September, 1667, unless previously ordained; and every Nonconformist minister who celebrated the Lord's Supper was rendered liable to a fine of one hundred pounds.

Leslie upbraided the other bishops for their slackness, asserting that if they had followed his example, Presbyterianism would have been banished out of the country. This prelate had given himself to "eating and drinking," and had become so heavy that he could not move about. He survived till 1672, when he died "with great horror of conscience."

Meanwhile many of the ministers had returned to the country, Presbyteries had begun to hold their meetings, and sessions to revive discipline. About 1668, some congregations ventured to build meeting-houses, which were generally placed in secluded localities, where the observation of the authorities might not be attracted. Even yet the results of former persecution may be seen in the unsuitable sites of many of our churches. The position of Presbyterian ministers at this time, in Ireland, was one of danger and difficulty. Persecuted under the King whom they assisted to restore, they were starved by the people for whom they provided the bread of life. So accustomed had Presbyterians been, in the past, to see their ministers "maintained" by tithes or a government "allowance" that it was only by slow degrees they awoke to a sense of their own responsibility to provide them a means of support instead of that which had been withdrawn by the Government.

In Cromwell's time. Ireland had become prosperous, and tenants were able to pay high rents, but the government of Charles soon turned backwards the tide of prosperity. The exportation of cattle, beef, or bacon to England was prohibited. What was sent to the colonies had to be conveyed in English ships. Prices having become lower, tenants could no longer meet the rapacious demands of their landlords for rent, and of the Episcopal clergy for tithes. Promises made at the time of the Ulster Plantation were broken, and Presbyterians were exposed to a civil as well as to an ecclesiastical tyranny, by a government which desired to hold them slaves in both body and soul.

About this time several Scotch Presbyterians—both pastors and people—fled to Ireland as a place of refuge from the persecution then peculiarly severe in their native land. Among these was Alexander Peden “the prophet” who hid in the mountain fastness of Glenwherry. That place was also the refuge of Willie Gilliland,* a Scottish gentleman on whose head a price was set after the battle of Bothwell Bridge. He is the hero of Sir Samuel Ferguson’s ballad, and is said to have slain with the iron spike in the butt end of his fishing rod one of the soldiers who had seized his mare, dear to the outlaw’s heart:—

“Down comes her master with a roar, her rider with a groan,
The iron and the hickory are through and through him gone!
He lies a corpse; and where he sat the outlaw sits again,
And once more to his bonny mare he gives the spur and rein;
Then some with sword and some with gun, they ride and run amain;
But sword and gun, and whip and spur, that day they plied in vain.”

Some of these exiles from Scotland began to preach in the fields. But their Irish brethren were strongly opposed to this course as calculated to draw the attention of the Government. Besides, clergymen conducting services in private were not generally molested. Charles desiring to tolerate the Romish Church, to which he had been secretly reconciled, did not wish to press strictly the laws against Non-conformity in Ireland. When Lord Berkeley came to govern the country, in 1670, he received public instructions to repress Popery, and private instructions to grant Roman Catholics as much liberty as possible. Presbyterians now openly dispensed the Communion in Dublin. The meeting-house was crowded, and hundreds stood outside at the open windows. About this time, delegates from the Presbyteries met as a kind of General Synod to consult about the state of the Church in general. Rules were adopted regarding the administration of baptism, and the admission of candidates to the office of the ministry. A collection was ordered to be taken up in all the congregations in aid of a number of Scotch Presbyterian ministers now exiles in Holland on account of persecution at home. This collection produced about £120 sterling.

* Willie Gilliland has left numerous descendants in Ulster. Among these are Professor Killen, Mr. Arthur C. Allen, J.P.; and Mr. J. M. Andrews.

“Yet so it was; and still from him descendants not a few
Draw birth and lands, and, let me trust, draw love of freedom too.”

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND.

THE most bitter persecution that was ever endured by Presbyterians in Ireland was mild compared with what they now suffered in Scotland. During the administration of Cromwell, the Scottish Church had prospered. She was strict in her discipline, grave in her government, and solemn in her worship. Her ministers were sound in their doctrine and pure in their morals. Her people were stern in their principles, and strongly attached to Presbyterian church-government. At the Restoration it is said that, except in some parts of the Highlands, every parish had a minister, every village a school, and every family a bible. In many districts a traveller might have ridden miles before he would hear an oath or find a home in which family worship was not observed. Among the ministers were such distinguished men as David Dickson, Samuel Rutherford, and Robert Blair. We have already described how Blair was, in 1623, ordained minister of Bangor. After many vicissitudes, he still preached in his old age, with majestic grandeur, the same glorious Gospel which had been the subject of his youthful eloquence.

But the Church was now to enter a furnace of persecution. The very restoration had itself a bad effect, and caused many scenes of dissipation. The nation was drunk with joy. Even so rigid a Presbyterian as Janet Geddes gave her shelves, forms, and the chair on which she sat to make a bonfire in honour of the King's coronation.

The first Parliament was summoned to meet in January 1661, and the most shameless bribery was employed to carry out the wish of Charles to obtain a majority for overthrowing Presbyterianism. Many circumstances favoured the King's design. The Presbyterian Church condemned vices which the sons of the nobility loved dearly. All who were given to dissipation wished to see a church established, by law, from which they might not fear any ecclesiastical censure. The King ruled the aristocracy, and the aristocracy in reality nominated almost all the members of the Commons. Both Houses of Parliament, according to custom, sat together in the same chamber; and in violation of law, the members did not subscribe the National Covenant. Several sittings of this Parliament had to be adjourned because Middleton was too drunk to keep the chair; and many of the other members were often in a similar state of intoxication. This Assembly, ready to do anything the King desired, set about its work at once. All legislation for reformation, between 1638 and 1650, was declared treasonable, although the Acts in question had been duly sanctioned by the Sovereign. The government of the Church was now left entirely in the hands of the King,

who soon exercised that power to overthrow Presbyterianism, so dear to the Scots; and now arose the most merciless persecution ever endured by any church in Great Britain.

The Marquess of Argyle, who, in 1651, had placed the crown on the head of Charles, was arrested, tried, and executed without the shadow of a crime proved against him; but he incurred the animosity of the King in being one of those who had formerly compelled him to take the Covenant as a condition of their support; and now the monarch had his revenge.

The Rev. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, who, in 1650, pronounced sentence of excommunication on Middleton, was the next victim. He was arrested, tried for high treason, condemned and executed as a traitor. On the 4th of October 1662, the Council issued a proclamation to the effect that every minister admitted since 1649, when patronage was abolished, would be banished from his parish, unless he had obtained a presentation from his patron and spiritual induction from his bishop, before the 1st of November. Middleton did not expect more than fifteen or twenty would refuse conformity. But, to his great astonishment, about four hundred preferred to resign rather than submit to an unscriptural system of church-government and doctrine. These ejected ministers were succeeded by raw youths, generally called curates, although they were parish ministers.

The Rev. James Sharp had been sent by his brethren to London, in 1660, to manage the interests of the Church, and maintain its liberties. But he basely betrayed the cause he had been selected to uphold, and had sworn to defend. For reward of his treason, he received the bishopric of St. Andrews, and the primacy of Scotland. Together with Sharp, three others—namely Fairfoul, Hamilton, and Leighton—after having been duly ordained deacons and then priests, were consecrated bishops. Of these renegades Leighton alone possessed any religious principles.

The ejected ministers now began to preach in the fields. But an Act against conventicles, was passed; and Sir James Turner with troops was sent to the West, in 1663, to scatter the people who attended these meetings. Many Episcopal curates were accustomed, after service, to call the roll of their parishioners, and report the absent to Turner, who was often judge, jury, and executioner. Such cruelty sometimes excited the pity of even those who had no religious principles. In 1664, a court of High Commission was established, which punished severely all who opposed Episcopal church government. By this court ministers were imprisoned, women publicly whipped, boys scourged, branded, and sold as slaves to Barbadoes.

In 1666, a number of countrymen rescued an old man from a party of soldiers who were about to roast him alive on a gridiron, because he refused to pay a fine inflicted for being a Presbyterian. Knowing that they had forfeited their lives, they determined to remain in arms. Joined by a number of others, they captured Sir James Turner. But at last, after a desperate struggle, they were

overcome at Rullion Green, among the Pentland Hills. About fifty were killed, including Mr. Crookshanks and Mr. M'Cormick—two ministers from Ireland. Nearly eighty prisoners were taken, either on the field of battle or afterwards, and of these about thirty-five perished on the scaffold. At the suggestion of the Bishops, Mr. John Neilson of Corsack, and Mr. Hugh M'Kail, preacher, were tortured with an instrument called the boot. It consisted of four pieces of wood in which a leg of the victim was confined. These pieces were then driven together by wedges, which caused them to press so tightly as to make the marrow leave the bone. Before the executions were finished, a letter came from the King to Sharp, as President of the Council, ordering no more lives to be taken. But the Archbishop kept back the order until M'Kail had been executed.

After the Duke of Landerdale had, in 1667, obtained the chief management of affairs in Scotland, there was a temporary cessation of persecution. A Presbyterian at heart himself, he did not, at first, proceed to cruelty so great as had been previously practised; and some of the most notorious persecutors were dismissed. By order of the King, an Act of Indulgence was passed by the Council, in 1669, more with the object of creating divisions than of affording relief. A limited liberty of preaching was given by this enactment to ministers who refrained from speaking against the changes in Church and State. Some accepted of this indulgence, and others refused; but those who accepted the relief it afforded were called "King's curates" by the zealous Covenanters; and were by them regarded as little better than the "Bishop's curates." Other ministers who refused this indulgence, began to preach in the fields. To them the people resorted in crowds. Sermons delivered under such circumstances, produced a great effect. Many converts were made, and the zeal of the people went up to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Driven to madness by persecution, they came to these meetings fully armed. Watchmen were placed on the hills around. The preacher with a bible in his hand and a sword by his side warned the people to fear spiritual more than temporal death. These appeals rendered them regardless of danger, and many bloody encounters took place between the soldiers and the Covenanters.

" There, leaning on his spear,
The lyrat veteran heard the Word of God,
By Cameron thunder'd, or by Renwick pour'd
In gentle stream : then rose the song, the loud
Acclaim of praise ; the wheeling plover ceased
Her plaint ; the solitary place was glad,
And on the distant cairns, the watcher's ear
Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note."

The Archbishop of St. Andrews, regarding Presbyterians with the animosity of an apostate, was notorious among persecutors. In 1668, he had been fired at by a man named Mitchell, who was not captured for six years afterwards. When taken, there was no legal proof of his guilt. Sharp swore with uplifted hand that the

prisoner's life would be spared in case he confessed his crime. Notwithstanding this promise, Mitchell, on confessing, was placed in confinement, and afterwards, barbarously executed. But before many years, the Archbishop himself met a fate as horrible as that to which he had been a means of sending so many others. On the 3rd of May, 1679, twelve Presbyterians were near St. Andrews, watching for one of Sharp's agents, named Carmichael, who had rendered himself particularly obnoxious as a persecutor, by placing lighted matches between the fingers of women and children. Failing to meet the servant, they happened to encounter the Archbishop himself, who with his daughter was driving from Edinburgh to St. Andrews. They surrounded the carriage, disarmed the servants, and told Sharp to prepare for death. But he earnestly begged for mercy, promised to lay down his office of bishop, and offered them money if only they would spare his life. Refusing his offers with contempt, they again ordered him to prepare for death. But he still shrank from engaging in prayer, and continued his abject petitions for mercy. They now discharged their pistols at him, and thinking he was dead, turned away. But overhearing his daughter say to herself that there was still life, they returned and found him unhurt. He now got out of the carriage and going down on his knees, cried for mercy, directing his petitions chiefly to David Hackston of Rathillet, who declined to interfere. The others told him to ask for mercy from God and not from them, but finding all their efforts useless, they put him to death with their swords. Then they returned thanks to God for what they had accomplished, and succeeded in escaping. Presbyterians generally condemned this awful deed, although they regarded it as a judgment from God, on one who first betrayed and then persecuted his brethren.

For years after Sharp's death, when Presbyterians were apprehended, they were generally asked if they thought the Archbishop's assassination murder. Should they answer in the negative, or refuse to reply, death was the immediate penalty.

Among the persecutors, none obtained a greater reputation for cruelty than John Graham, of Claverhouse. Under a soft exterior he concealed a daring spirit, regardless of danger and of death. He had, therefore, no hesitation in condemning others to what he could face with courage himself. His wife, although a granddaughter of the "good Earl of Cassilis," had no love for the religion in which her own mother had been trained. Once she was heard to wish that the house might fall on her if she ever went to hear a Presbyterian minister preach. That wish was gratified after her husband's death, when she had become Lady Kilsythe. Being in Holland, she went to hear Fleming, the prophet. In his sermon, he remarked that some one in his audience was near a sudden catastrophe. Next night the house in which Lady Kilsythe lodged fell and killed both her and her child.

In order to put down Conventicles, and if possible to drive the people to rebellion, eight thousand Highlanders were quartered in the West. These men, the very scum of the country, savage in their

manners and cruel in their dispositions, would, on the information of the cūrates, visit the houses of the Covenanters, empty their oats into the water, tramp their oatmeal into the dunghill, set fire to their stacks of oats, and commit many unspeakable outrages on the most defenceless members of the family.

On the 29th of May, 1679, Mr. Robert Hamilton, and some of his friends, published a declaration at Rutherglen, against all the persecuting acts of the Council and Parliament. Graham of Claverhouse, hearing of this, marched in search of those by whom the declaration was published. But Hamilton, with 170 foot and 40 horse, came up to Claverhouse at a place called Drumclog. After a short preliminary engagement, Balfour with the horse and William Cleland with the infantry crossed a morass and attacked the dragoons, who were soon put to flight. The Covenanters killed forty on the field and rescued Mr. John King with about fourteen other prisoners.

Claverhouse fled to Glasgow, where he was pursued by the Covenanters. But failing to capture the city they retreated to the town of Hamilton. There they were joined by many country people; but they all wanted arms and training. Through the influence of Mr. Hamilton, it was determined not to admit into the ranks any who would not condemn the indulgence. This caused a division, and prevented the Presbyterians from being able to raise more than about four thousand men.

The Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of King Charles, commanded the royal army, sent to subdue the rebellion. The Covenanters awaited his approach on ground gently rising from the left bank of the Clyde, opposite Bothwell. Here a bridge, only twelve feet wide, spanned the river, which winds round the base of the hill on which the village is built. Monmouth occupied Bothwell and the level plain below, and, on the 22nd of June, 1679, commenced the attack. Hackston of Rathillet with 300 men, placed among cottages and behind barricades, defended the bridge for some time with courage and success. At last, their ammunition was expended, and Hamilton, when asked to send a fresh supply, ordered Hackston to withdraw from his position, "leaving the world to debate whether he acted most like a traitor, coward, or fool." Hackston obeyed, the royal army passed the bridge, and charged the main body of the Covenanters, who were entirely defeated, and about twelve hundred taken prisoners. The soldiers now scoured the country and shot a great number suspected of being concerned in the rising. One day a party of them saw a man named Arthur Inglis reading the Bible as he sat herding his cows. Concluding that he must be a Presbyterian, they shot him dead. Yet the poor man had not been connected with the rebellion.

Although Monmouth was devoid of religion, he was not blood-thirsty; and he tried to restrain the cruelty of his army. But he failed to prevent others who were in power from carrying on their bloody work. Many of the prisoners, taken at Bothwell, were executed. Among these were Messrs. King and Kid, who had refused to

take part in the rebellion or to preach to the insurgents. The other prisoners were brought to Edinburgh almost naked. For five months they were kept in Greyfriars' Church Yard. During almost all this period they had to remain in the open air. At night, they slept on the cold ground without shelter from the rain; and, if anyone to ease his position, raised his head a little, he was shot at by some of the soldiers. After a lengthened period of suffering, a few escaped, some were liberated through the intercession of friends, some were executed, and upwards of two hundred and fifty were condemned to transportation. Placed on board a ship, they were crowded together under deck, where there was so little space that most had to stand in order to give more room to the dying. Many fainted, and all were nearly suffocated. So little food or water was supplied to them that they had to endure the torments of hunger and thirst. The greater part of fourteen thousand merks, collected for their relief in Edinburgh, was appropriated by their persecutors. The ship sailed from Leith on the 27th of November, and on the 10th of December was caught in a storm off Orkney. The prisoners requested to be put on shore, where they would have remained in prison; but the master, who was a Roman Catholic, refused, and locked the hatches. That night the ship was driven on a rock, and broken in the middle. The crew easily escaped by means of a mast laid from the vessel to the shore. The prisoners were left to their fate. Some of them, with the energy of despair, burst open the hatches, and made good their way to land; but the crew pushed them down the rocks into the sea. Only about forty escaped, who were sent to Jamaica and New Jersey, where they had to work under a burning sun in company with Negro slaves. But few of them remained alive to return when the Revolution brought liberty; and the captain who thus murdered his prisoners was never brought to trial.

The effect of these persecutions was to cause many of the Presbyterian laity to disown the authority of the civil as well as of the ecclesiastical rulers, and form themselves into societies. But Mr. Donald Cargill and Mr. Richard Cameron were the only ministers who now identified themselves with this party. On the 22nd of June, 1680, about twenty of them met at Sanquhar, and issued a declaration in which they disowned "Charles Stuart" and declared war with him as a tyrant and usurper. Cameron had been an Episcopalian. But having given his heart to God, he became a preacher to those who renounced the civil authority. After many marvellous escapes, he was at last killed in an engagement at Ayr's Moss. David Hackston, of Rathillet, who was captured at the same engagement, was soon afterwards put to death under circumstances of unparalleled barbarity. His right hand was cut off, and after a little time his left. Afterwards he was hanged up with a pulley, and when half suffocated, let down. The executioner then cut open his breast and tore out his still moving heart, into which he stuck his knife, and holding it up said, "Here is the heart of a traitor."

Cargill was now the only minister among the Cameronians, and

he preached to vast crowds at field-conventicles. In September 1680, he pronounced sentence of excommunication on the King, the Duke of York, and the other chief persecutors. But next year he was captured and executed, and the Cameronians were without a minister until the return of Mr. James Renwick, who had gone to Holland for ordination. The extreme position taken up by these societies caused the Government to proceed against the other Presbyterians with greater severity.

The Duke of York—afterwards James II.—now came to Scotland to urge on the work of persecution. It seemed to give him great pleasure to watch the torments of tortured Covenanters. The country was laid under martial law, and neither age nor sex was spared. Prisoners were tortured till they were compelled to accuse themselves of crimes they had never committed, and were then executed on their own confession. Yet all this time the curates did not venture to introduce the Episcopal liturgy, proving the intense dislike to this form of service in the minds of the Scotch.

CHAPTER XV.

PROGRESS AMID PRIVATIONS.

MEANWHILE in Ireland there was comparative liberty. Churches were built, and ministers were ordained. But ordinations were generally in private, at a considerable distance from the parishes where the newly-appointed ministers were to officiate. The ordinations of candidates for the ministry was especially obnoxious to the bishops, since it was a means of keeping up the supply of clergymen. Everywhere throughout the North, Protestants crowded to the services of the ministers, while the rectors were deserted. Even at funerals, where the Presbyterian clergy did not then hold any service, the offer of curates to officiate would be declined with contempt.

Jeremy Taylor died in 1667, and was succeeded by Dr. Roger Boyle, who did not, at first, become an active persecutor. But having been upbraided for want of zeal, by Leslie of Raphoe, he summoned twelve of the brethren to appear before his court. Of these one was Michael Bruce* who had passed through strange

* Six descendants of Michael Bruce have been Irish Presbyterian ministers. His son, James Bruce, of Killyleagh, 1661 (?)–1730; Michael Bruce, of Holywood, son of James, 1686–1735; Patrick Bruce, of Drumbo and Killyleagh, son of James, and grandfather of the first baronet of Downhill, 1692–1732; Samuel Bruce, of Dublin, son of Michael, 1722–1767; Dr. Wm. Bruce, of Lisburn, Dublin, and Belfast, son of Samuel, 1757–1841; and Wm. Bruce, of Belfast, son of Dr. Bruce, 1790–1868. The proprietor of the Benburb estate is grandson of Dr. Bruce.

vicissitudes since he left Ireland nine years before. After many adventures in Scotland, he was captured near Stirling, condemned to banishment and sent to London "to await the King's pleasure." While there, he obtained permission to preach in prison. He was heard by Lady Castlemaine, who persuaded Charles to change his place of banishment to "Killinchy in the woods," which the King may have thought somewhere in America—never dreaming it was the very place where Mr. Bruce formerly officiated.

None of the brethren summoned by the Bishop would appear before his Court, and Boyle was about to pronounce sentence of excommunication. But Sir Arthur Forbes, who, since the death of Lord Massareene, was the great protector of Presbyterians, succeeded in getting the Primate to order these proceedings to be stayed until he would be holding his own three-yearly visitation in the diocese. The Archbishop was much more desirous of saving money than of imposing his theology on others. He was, therefore, inclined to give ear to those who advised him to moderation, among whom was the Lord Lieutenant himself.

In 1671, Sir Arthur Forbes took advantage of his position as one of the Lords Justices in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, to procure the liberation of all who then suffered imprisonment in Ireland on account of being Presbyterians. Among these was a man named John Goodall, who had been confined in Armagh upwards of three years, for the crime of drawing two sledfulls of sand on a Christmas day. But his real offence was being a Presbyterian.

A new theatre had been lately erected in Dublin by public subscription. Even bishops had contributed largely, although they had refused to assist in building a new church in Dame Street. As Presbyterianism condemned the vices to which the aristocratic supporters of this theatre were addicted, it was determined to turn Nonconformity to ridicule on the stage. A play was acted in 1670, before a large assembly of the wealthy and fashionable. One of the chief characters was a Nonconformist minister, who was mocked, upbraided, and placed in the stocks. But at the moment when this was done, the upper gallery fell on the second, and the second on the first, in which sat many of the aristocracy. Some were killed. A very great number were seriously hurt, among whom was Lady Clanbrassil, who had, lately, pulled down a Presbyterian Meeting-house at Bangor.

Hitherto in Ireland the ministers had been united and harmonious. "The Act of Bangor" prevented them importing from Scotland the dispute which existed there between the Resolutioners and Protestors. But about this time, Mr. David Houston, a licentiate, who had imbibed the principles of Peden the Prophet, began to preach to large crowds in opposition to the settled pastors. The Presbyteries of Antrim and Route remonstrated with him regarding the evils which must arise from fixing "tent against tent." He admitted the error of his ways, and promised that, in future, he would not act contrary to the advice of the Presbytery. But offending again, his license was withdrawn. Once more confessing his

fault, he was restored, and he then retired to Scotland; but, afterwards, he returned, and was often before the church-courts, as a troubler of Israel.

In 1672, King Charles made a grant of £600 a-year to the Irish Presbyterian ministers. One account states that the idea originated with the Rev. Alexander Hutcheson, of Saintfield, who suggested it to Sir Arthur Forbes, by whom it was brought before the King. Another account is that "The King, of his own mere notion, told Sir Arthur that there was £1,200 a-year in the settlement of the revenue of Ireland which he had not yet disposed of, but he designed it for a charitable use, and he knew not how to dispose of it better than by giving it to these ministers; and told him he would forthwith give order, and desired Sir Arthur to bring the secretary to him to-morrow, that the order might be passed under the King's Privy Seal, and the money to be paid to Sir Arthur quarterly, for secret service, as the order ran; but when the secretary came to the King it was found there was only £600 to be disposed of, which he ordered to be paid as is formerly related." Probably the first account is the more correct. Sir Arthur, as a good courtier, represented the King, himself, suggesting what he merely consented to do when suggested. The amount payable to each minister was only about seven or eight pounds a-year; and even this was not received with regularity.

A general committee of the church met at Benburb in 1672, and drew up rules for the trial, ordination, and settlement of candidates for the ministry. The work of supplying pastors went on with rapidity. Preachers were sent to Sligo, Waterford, and several other places in the South and West. The Rev. Thomas Gowan and the Rev. John Howe, who now acted as chaplain to the Massareene family, established a school for divinity and philosophy at Antrim. Throughout the Church, exceedingly strict discipline was maintained, and members were often excluded from communion for offences which would now be considered trivial. But the great body of Presbyterians were then firmly attached to the principles of their faith, and offenders submitted to the discipline of the Church. Baptism was then never administered in private, even were the child "upon the point of death." Sabbath schools were unknown; but parents instructed their children at home in the Scriptures, the Shorter Catechism, and the Westminster Confession. Ministers regularly examined the young people in private and in public on their religious knowledge. Belief in the Bible, as a revelation of God's will, was then stronger than now, and, consequently, Christians desired rather to understand those principles revealed for their guidance than to get their emotions excited by an ornate service and beautiful music.

After the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, in 1679, Ormond, who had again become Lord Lieutenant, caused a frigate to cruise in the North Channel to seize refugees coming from Scotland. It was then reported that Irish Presbyterians also were ready to rise in rebellion. To clear themselves from this calumny, an address was

presented to the Lord Lieutenant, by which he seems to have been convinced of their loyalty.

The Presbytery of Lagan, near Derry, held a fast in 1681, and drew up a paper showing the causes which moved them to its observance. This paper was read in all their places of worship. But some of the authorities having obtained a copy, the Revs. Wm. Trail, Ballindrait; James Alexander, Convoy; Robert Campbell, Ray; and John Hart, Monreagh, were summoned to appear at Raphoe before the magistrates. After examination, they were discharged, but, in a few weeks, were brought to Dublin, examined by the Privy Council, and compelled to give bail to appear at next Lifford assizes. On being tried they were found guilty of holding the fast in question, were condemned to pay a fine of £20 each, and to be imprisoned until they would sign an engagement not to offend similarly in future. This they refused to do, and, consequently, were confined for more than eight months in Lifford.

Throughout Ulster, there was now a renewal of persecution against Presbyterians, many of whom removed to America. Among these, was Mr. Francis Makemie, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Lagan, who settled in Eastern Virginia, and was one of the founders of the Presbyterian Church among the English speaking population of the United States. The Dutch section of that church had existed for many years before. The Rev. William Trail of Ballindrait, and other Irish ministers went to America soon afterwards. But even there, persecution seems to have followed them. Makemie was imprisoned because he had preached without permission from the Episcopal governor of New York, and was compelled to pay fines amounting to more than eighty pounds, before he was released. We find, however, that in 1706, he was one of the most active members of the first Presbytery of the Church. That Presbytery consisted of seven ministers, of whom three were Irishmen. Other Irish ministers joined them before long, and it was an Irishman named William Tennent, who had been an Episcopal minister in Ireland, whose wife was a daughter of the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy of Dundonald, and who became a Presbyterian minister in America, that founded the famous log college so instrumental in helping the American church to obtain an educated ministry.

Both before, and especially after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685,* many French Presbyterians, driven from home by persecution, came to live in Ireland. But these poor exiles, fleeing from the tyranny of Papists, soon experienced the tyranny of the Episcopal Protestants to whom they had fled for protection. Because they refused to use the liturgy, one of their congregations in Dublin was scattered and its minister imprisoned.

* In Killen's edition of Reid, 1682 is erroneously given as the date of the revocation of this Edict.

CHAPTER XVI.

UNDER JAMES THE SECOND.

CHARLES died on the 6th of February 1685, having previously received absolution from a priest of the Church of Rome. He was succeeded by James, Duke of York, an avowed Roman Catholic, who had more vice and even less virtue than his brother. But no doubt posterity has been unkind to him, as historians incline to extenuate the faults of a hero like Cromwell, and to magnify the vices of a dastard like James.

The new King, on his accession, promised to maintain the Episcopal Church, and he submitted to be crowned in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury. A party, made up of the more zealous Protestants and the more determined Whigs, fearing he would be a tyrant and a persecutor, commenced a very unwise insurrection. The Earl of Argyle landed in Scotland to call the Covenanters to arms. The Duke of Monmouth, careless of religion but desirous of a crown, raised the standard of insurrection in England. These attempts were abortive. Argyle was captured and executed. Monmouth, defeated at Sedgemoor, suffered the same penalty, notwithstanding his relationship to the King. Many of his followers were butchered by Colonel Percy Kirke, who scoured the country with his "Lambs." The prisoners, tried by Jeffreys at the "Bloody Assizes," were executed in such numbers as excited terror and consternation throughout the kingdom. This judge declared he could "smell a Presbyterian forty miles," and that he had hanged more traitors than all his predecessors since the Conquest.

The accession of James brought no immediate relief to the persecuted Covenanters of Scotland. An Episcopalian farmer named Gilbert Wilson had two daughters—Agnes, aged thirteen, and Margaret, aged eighteen. These girls attended Conventicles, and had become Presbyterians. Arrested and condemned to death, their father succeeded in procuring the pardon of the younger on paying £100 sterling. But the elder and an old woman named Margaret Maclaughlan were bound to stakes on the sea-shore that they might be drowned by the rising tide. After the old woman was dead, and the water had passed over Margaret Wilson's head, the latter was brought out, restored to consciousness, and offered life if she would take the abjuration oath. But she said, "I am one of Christ's children, let me go." She was then once more placed in the sea, and her sufferings ended by death.

At Priesthill, in Lanarkshire, lived a man named John Brown, noted for his piety, and void of offence to the world. On the 1st of May, 1685, when engaged cutting turf, he was seized by Claverhouse, and condemned to death for being a Presbyterian. His wife was present, holding one child by the hand, and exhibiting proof that she

would soon be again a mother. With difficulty, poor Brown received permission to engage in prayer. By his prayer he so moved the soldiers that not one of them would act as executioner. But Claverhouse, with his own hand, shot the prisoner dead. His wife, in her sorrow, then turned round to the murderer and told him that his own day of reckoning would soon come. "To men," he replied, "I can be answerable. As for God, I'll take Him into mine own hand." Yet it is said that, ever afterwards, he was haunted by the consciousness of inexpressible guilt, and that the impression made on his heart by the last prayer of Brown had not been effaced when he met his own untimely end.

A change now took place in the policy of James. Doubtless he would have preferred to still persecute all classes of Puritans, while he favoured Roman Catholics. But he felt that it would look strange in the eyes of the world to give Papists permission to do the very thing for which his soldiers shot down Presbyterians. Besides, he hoped to obtain valuable political aid from Nonconformists in support of the power he claimed to dispense with these laws by which they, as well as Roman Catholics, were persecuted. Moved by these considerations, he published on the 4th of April, 1687, a Declaration of Indulgence, in which, by his own authority, without any sanction from Parliament, he suspended the penal laws against Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. But, while the ordinary Presbyterian services were permitted, and Roman Catholic services encouraged, the regulations against field Conventicles were maintained in full force. Presbyterians in general deemed it their duty to take advantage of this Indulgence; but the Cameronians refused to comply with the conditions by which liberty might be obtained, and contrary to law and contrary to the Indulgence continued to meet in field Conventicles.

The Rev. James Renwick, a young man of five-and-twenty, minister of the persecuted Cameronian societies, had preached with great power against those who took advantage of the Indulgence. But his career was short; for, on the 17th of February, 1688, he suffered the penalty of death. Renwick was the last of the Scottish martyrs, but David Houston was very nearly obtaining that honour. Arrested in Ireland, he was brought to Scotland to be tried. On the 18th of June, near Cumnock, in Ayrshire, his military escort were attacked and defeated by a body of Covenanters. Mr. Houston was released and had not been re-captured when James was driven from his throne.

The persecution in Scotland had now ended. About eighteen thousand Presbyterians had been punished by the law or had perished of hardships. Nearly 500 had been murdered in cold blood, and 362 had been executed. After twenty-eight years of persecution the Presbyterian Church stood as firmly as ever in the affections of the people. Death in its most cruel forms failed to compel them to use a liturgy, similar to what their degenerate descendants now seem inclined to adopt without compulsion.

In Ireland, James determined to rule the Protestant minority

by the Roman Catholic majority ; and it was easy to carry out his plans when supported by four-fifths of the population. He refrained from appointing Bishops to the vacant sees of Cashel, Elphin, and Clonfert, and caused their revenues to be paid into the treasury, to create a fund for the endowment of Roman Catholic prelates. His brother-in-law, Clarendon, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant ; and Tyrconnel, a Roman Catholic, who was generally known as "Lying Dick Talbot," became Lieutenant-General, with full power to remodel the army by removing Protestants and substituting Roman Catholics. Before long, Clarendon was re-called, and Tyrconnel himself appointed Lord Deputy. Roman Catholics now received the highest legal appointments. They were rendered supreme in many of the corporations, and, almost everywhere, the ruling minority were placed in subjection to the uneducated majority.

The Declaration of Indulgence doubtless brought relief to Presbyterians in Ireland. Churches, which had been closed were re-opened. Presbyterian meetings were held, and elders began to discharge all the duties of their office. The persecution was now over, although the only basis of relief was the King's unconstitutional proclamation ; yet Presbyterians were so thankful that some of them presented addresses to His Majesty.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REVOLUTION.

THE King issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, which he ordered to be read in all the churches and chapels of the kingdom. Seven Bishops of the English Episcopal Church, on petitioning His Majesty to withdraw his obnoxious order, were committed to prison and brought to trial. But all the influence of the Court exercised to procure their conviction, failed to frighten the jury, and the Prelates were acquitted. The spirit of the whole nation was now aroused. Tory parsons who maintained the Divine right of Kings to do wrong, who, so long as only Nonconformists were persecuted, preached the duty of passive obedience under the most cruel sufferings which His Gracious Majesty chose to inflict, were horrified to see their own bishops standing accused before a legal tribunal, and commenced to modify in practice what they held in theory. The great majority of Tories and Churchmen began now to desire a deliverer as earnestly as Whigs and Puritans. All, with singular unanimity, turned their eyes to William Henry, Prince of Orange, grandson of Charles I., nephew and son-in-law of James, and first magistrate of the Dutch Republic. William was

now thirty-eight years of age. When little more than a boy he had contended with honour in the field against the ablest generals of the age. Although defeated in bloody battles, he contrived to reap the fruits of victory, and to deliver his country from destruction. A Calvinist in religion, he was regarded as head of the Protestant interest on the Continent, and even his enemies admitted that he was the ablest statesman in Europe.

William undertook to free Britain from the tyranny of his father-in-law. With a fleet of six hundred vessels, having on board fifteen thousand soldiers, he arrived at Torbay, in the south of England, on the 5th of November, 1688. There he unfurled his standard with its memorable inscription, "I will maintain the liberties of England and the Protestant religion." James had soon to seek safety in flight. William and Mary his wife were then, by a Convention Parliament, elected King and Queen of England.

In Scotland, the country people, who had borne with the curates for six-and-twenty years, could bear no longer. Without awaiting for the Parliament to re-establish Presbyterianism, they drove many of these parsons from their parishes. "The time of their fall," says Patrick Walker, "was now come. Faintness was entered into their hearts, insomuch that the greater part of them could not speak sense, but stood trembling and sweating. I enquired at them what made them to tremble; they that had been teachers and defenders of the Prelatic principles, and active instruments in many of our national mischiefs? How would they tremble and sweat if they were in the Grassmarket going up the ladder, with the rope before them, and the lad with the pyoted coat at their tail! But they were speechless objects of pity."

In March, 1689, a Convention of the Estates was held in Edinburgh, William, by his own power, dispensing with the laws which deprived Presbyterians of their votes. The Covenanters, in order to protect the members who belonged to their party, assembled in arms, many of them carrying the weapons they had used at Bothwell Bridge. Conspicuous among these brave men was William Cleland, who when only seventeen years of age, had led the infantry to victory at Drumclog. Distinguished as a poet and a mathematician, he was brave even to recklessness. Now he sought to meet Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, in mortal conflict. But Dundee, finding that the majority of the Convention could neither be forced nor flattered to support the claims of the House of Stuart, and fearing to be cut in pieces by Cleland, left Edinburgh and fled to the Highlands. There the mass of the population professed a religion which was a strange mixture of Paganism and Popery. They had no love for either king or country; but were loyal to their clans and attached to their chieftains, who ruled them as petty sovereigns. Some of these chieftains, fearing they might now be called on to restore what they held of the confiscated estates of the martyred Argyle, were ready to rebel against the authority of William. Thus Dundee was easily able to raise an army of Highlanders. He took the field at once, and defeated General Mackay,

on the 27th of July, at Killiecrankie, but was himself slain in the battle. He was succeeded as Commander-in-Chief by Colonel Canon, who continued the rebellion.

A regiment of Covenanters, under William Cleland, now lay not far off at Dunkeld, placed there among their enemies, by some traitor, that they might be cut to pieces. They had been deserted by the cavalry, had been supplied with a barrel of figs instead of gunpowder, and were in all only 700 strong; while Canon led on to the attack 5,000 Highlanders flushed with victory. Cleland drew up his men with great skill behind some walls near a house which belonged to the Marquess of Athol. Although surrounded on all sides, the Covenanters repulsed repeated attacks of the enemy. Again and again, the Highlanders came on with fearful fury, but the Presbyterians fought with the energy of despair. When their bullets were done, they used bits of lead cut off the roof of Athol's house. Galled by the fire of the enemy, who shot at them from some dwellings in the vicinity, they sallied out, secured the doors, and set these buildings on fire, so that many of their occupants perished in the flames. After a fearful conflict, the Highlanders at length retreated, and the Covenanters sang a psalm of triumph. The war was ended, and the power of William supreme throughout Scotland; but the victory was dearly bought by the death of the gallant Cleland who had fallen struck with two bullets at the same time.

Meanwhile the Convention had given the Crown of Scotland to William and Mary, had abolished all the persecuting laws, and had re-established Presbyterianism as the national religion. Then in the words of Defoe, "not a dog wagged his tongue against the Presbyterian establishment, not a mouth gave a vote for Episcopacy."

The Irish Presbyterians heard with delight of William's success. Dr. Duncan Cumyng, on the part of their leaders, proceeded to London to congratulate the Prince on his arrival, and to point out the danger in which Irish Protestantism was placed.

At that time, Ireland was prosperous, and provisions were cheap. The native Irish lived on potatoes, beans, pounded barley,* and oaten bread. Unless on festival days, they seldom tasted beef or eggs. Yet their craving for flesh was strong; for when they chanced to light on a carrion, "dead or drowned," they gladly ate it even when in loathsome decay. As to clothing, they wore neither shirts nor shifts, and all the members of the family slept together on straw or rushes strewed on the ground, in the same apartment with their cattle and their swine. Of 200,000 houses in Ireland only 16,000 had more than one chimney, 24,000 had just one chimney, and 160,000 had neither fixed hearth nor windows. Almost the entire population lived in the country. Belfast, in 1666, contained not much more than a thousand inhabitants, and, when William arrived, could not

* This barley was prepared for use by pounding in those small circular stone troughs, still to be found at many farm-houses in Ulster.

have had much above two thousand at the highest calculation. Besides Belfast, there were not half a dozen places in Ulster better than mere country villages. The religious bigotry of the people was in proportion to their ignorance and rudeness of manners. The Roman Catholics regarded their priests with feelings of superstition; and believing they possessed miraculous power, feared to disobey their commands.

The authority of James had been more firmly established in Ireland than in any other part of the kingdom. The Lord-Deputy Tyrconnel, himself a Papist, had placed Papists in all important positions of civil and military power. Protestants were dismissed from the army and their arms given to Roman Catholics before their eyes. This process was continued until very few except Irish Kelts were left in the force. Every Catholic who could speak a little English, and had a few cows or horses, set up for a gentleman, wore a sword, and got into some employment, to the exclusion of a Protestant. Even the judges were distinguished more for their "brogue and their blunders" than for any knowledge of the law they were supposed to administer. Arms were supplied to the Irish peasants, with which they committed many outrages on their Protestant neighbours. The houses of the aristocracy were ransacked, the furniture smashed, and the plate carried off. About a million of cattle were taken by force from their Protestant owners, or killed in sheer wantonness. The Irish, who formerly lived on potatoes, oaten bread, and buttermilk, now feasted on raw beef or mutton; and it is calculated that, in all, they destroyed property belonging to Protestants which was value for upwards of £5,000,000 sterling.

On the 3rd of December, 1688, a letter addressed to the Earl of Mount-Alexander was found on the street of Comber, County Down. This letter asserted that a massacre of Protestants had been arranged for the 9th of the same month. And although there was no truth in this statement, it was generally believed. Men, still in the vigour of manhood, remembered the fearful massacre forty-seven years before; and they feared that the scenes of 1641 would be re-enacted immediately. Tyrconnel declared to representatives of the Dublin Protestants that the report was untrue; and, when they refused to credit his assertions, he threw his wig into the fire, and assailed them with a volley of oaths. But his Lordship's imprecations did not convince them that "Lying Dick Talbot" had learned to speak truth. Some of the ruling caste now fled from the kingdom; but the majority, not possessing the means of residing in another country, retired to the nearest place of safety in their own land.

The chief Protestant strongholds were Londonderry and Enniskillen, and to these towns most of the northern colonists fled for protection. Londonderry was then one of the chief towns in Ulster, and contained two or three thousand inhabitants. Enniskillen was an unwall'd village of eighty houses, situated on an island in the river which joins the two sheets of water known as Lough Erne. Early in December, the inhabitants of this little town were thrown into a state of consternation on hearing that a party of Roman

Catholic soldiers were coming to remain with them as a garrison. Captain Corry, an Episcopal landlord of the neighbourhood, wished to admit the soldiers. The Rev. Robert Kelso, the Presbyterian clergyman, strongly urged resistance, and the townsmen adopted his advice, although they could muster only eighty men fit to carry arms, and that their munitions of war consisted of but twenty firelocks and ten pounds of gunpowder. Mr. Kelso laboured both in public and in private to animate "his hearers to take up arms and stand upon their own defence; showing example himself by wearing arms, and marching in the head of them when together."

But the forces of the Enniskillen men were soon augmented by friends of the same race and religion, who had fled from the murderous attacks of Roman Catholics in the South or West. Thus reinforced, they marched out of Enniskillen, and having proceeded about four miles, encountered a large party of Irish soldiers, whose officers were at that very moment dining with Captain Corry, the Episcopalian landlord who had wished to admit them to the town. The Irish, left without leaders, fled at the first onset. This speedy victory silenced all in Enniskillen who opposed resistance to the power of James. Gustavus Hamilton was elected governor; an army of Protestants was raised, and from that time till the end of the war, the men of Enniskillen carried on a vigorous and successful campaign.

But Londonderry was the chief Protestant stronghold in Ireland. It was built on the slope and summit of a hill rising one hundred and twenty feet above the level of the river, and was surrounded by a wall, which is now fifteen feet high. This wall was defended by a number of cannons, presented to the town by some of the wealthy London Guilds. The French generals of James might regard these fortifications with contempt, but behind them were seven thousand of the bravest men in Europe with their wives and their children, for whom they were determined to fight to the last.

Early in December, the inhabitants of Derry were alarmed to hear that a Catholic regiment under Lord Antrim was about to be placed in their town as a garrison, and that these troops were actually on their march. This alarm was strengthened by a sermon preached to the Roman Catholics of Derry, showing how dangerous it was to spare even one of those whom God had devoted to destruction. On the 7th of December, when a copy of the letter addressed to Lord Mount-Alexander was received by Alderman Tomkins, the people concluded that Lord Antrim was coming to murder the inhabitants. A fearful scene of excitement ensued, and many determined to fight rather than admit the King's forces. Dr. Hopkins, the Episcopalian Bishop of Derry, pointed out the sin of disobeying James the "Anointed of the Lord;" but the people could not comprehend it was "a crime to shut the gates against those whom they believed sent thither to cut their throats." Nine out of every ten being Presbyterians, they were the more inclined to reject a policy they condemned, because it was advocated by a man whose office they despised. But when the Rev.

James Gordon, Presbyterian minister of Glendermot, strongly advised resistance, they were easily persuaded to adopt the course they desired, when urged by one who held the same religious principles as themselves. The spirit of the Derry Presbyterians now rose high. Lord Antrim's soldiers were drawing near. No time was to be lost. A number of young men, urged by Gordon, drew their swords, ran to the gate and locked it, when the Irish were only sixty yards distant. The other gates were secured, and the magazine seized. The Irish soldiers remained outside until they heard a man named James Morrison shouting, "Bring about a great gun here," when they retired in haste, and re-crossed the river. Bishop Hopkins now addressed the multitude, telling them that in resisting James, who was their lawful King, they were resisting God Himself. But his speech had no effect, and he soon left the town to those whom he called "the disloyal Whigs."

Roman Catholics were now excluded, and by the advice of David Cairns, a Presbyterian gentleman from Tyrone, six companies of Protestants were raised and armed. Cairns now set out for London to try to obtain the supplies necessary for defending the town. When Tyrconnel heard that the gates of Derry had been closed in face of the royal army, he was inflamed to madness. He cursed and swore and threw his wig into the fire as usual. But as almost all the great towns in England had already declared for William, he began, when his rage cooled, to affect moderation. He now proposed to garrison Derry with Protestants, and sent thither Lord Mountjoy and Colonel Robert Lundy, with six companies to reduce the town to submission. Mountjoy was a Protestant, and his regiment was one of the few which contained a large proportion of the same religion. The inhabitants of Derry, not being certain of William's ultimate success, and, in the meantime, wishing to absolve themselves from "tincture of rebellion" against James, permitted Lundy, who was a Scottish Episcopalian, with two troops of Protestant soldiers to enter the town. The inhabitants, meanwhile, were to have liberty to keep their own companies under arms.

After the Prince of Orange had overthrown all opposition in England, he sent Richard Hamilton to offer terms to Tyrconnel, who seemed inclined to submit. But his hesitation was probably to gain time. When Hamilton arrived in Dublin, he failed to persuade Tyrconnel to betray James, but was himself easily induced to betray William, and accept of a command in the Irish army. Tyrconnel, finding that Mountjoy's presence was troublesome, sent him with Baron Rice on a mission to France. Mountjoy was told to inform James that it would be useless to try the fate of war in Ireland. But Rice was instructed to get his companion placed in prison, and to urge James to come over at once with a French force. Should he refuse, then Rice was to offer Ireland to Lewis of France. This message was faithfully delivered, and Mountjoy was placed in prison, where he was detained for more than three years.

Tyrconnel now began to raise troops and occupy all the passes leading to the North. Protestants were ordered to deliver up their

arms, but no attempt was made to disarm the native Irish, who everywhere, except in Ulster, carried on their work of destruction. They embraced with ardour the cause of King James, since it would give them an opportunity of robbing and murdering their Protestant neighbours. To obtain that privilege, they would as willingly have fought against James as for him.

The arrest of Mountjoy in France created consternation among all the Protestants of Ireland, and most of them fled from their homes for safety. It is related that one Richard Skelton—a gunsmith by trade, and father of the Rev. Philip Skelton—was compelled to work for the army of James. His wife and children fled to Islandmagee, and left their farm to the care of a Roman Catholic family named Himill, who sent part of the produce to their place of refuge, and kept everything carefully until they returned. Skelton afterwards entered the service of William.

The Protestant leaders now formed a Council at Hillsborough, and put themselves in a position of defence. But, on the 21st of February 1689, their forces were defeated in an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Carrickfergus Castle, and the government of James afterwards treated them as rebels.

On the 13th of February, William and Mary, having accepted the crown, were proclaimed King and Queen in London. Similar proclamations were afterwards made in those towns of Ulster where the Protestants were supreme. On the 12th of March, James landed at Kinsale, and was warmly received by the native Irish and by the Episcopal clergy. We are told in "Ireland's Lamentation" that the King was so greatly annoyed by "rude country Irish gentlewomen" who persisted in kissing him, that he ordered them to be kept at a distance. His progress was slow, as he rode on horseback over miserable roads, and it was the 24th of the month before he reached Dublin.


Meanwhile, Tyrconnel had sent a Presbyterian minister—the Rev. Alexander Osborne, of Dublin—to the Protestant gentry in arms, with an offer of favourable terms of surrender. These proposals Mr. Osborne communicated to Sir Arthur Rawdon; but, at the same time, conveyed a private warning that the Lord-Deputy could not be trusted, as he had broken "all such capitulations" made with Protestants in the South and West. The Council, therefore, rejected the Deputy's terms, and began to prepare for resisting the renegade Richard Hamilton, who was on his march with troops to reduce them to submission. At a meeting of the Protestant leaders on the 14th of March, nine Presbyterian clergymen offered to raise forces to fight for William and Mary. This offer was gladly accepted; but it was too late. Hamilton had arrived at Newry before it was thought that he had left Dublin. And, on the very day this offer was made, the Protestants, under Sir Arthur Rawdon, were, at the first onset, completely defeated by Hamilton in an engagement commonly known as "The Break of Dromore." Some of the Colonists now submitted to James, and took protection; but the majority fled northwards, or left the country altogether. Unable to

carry their household furniture with them, they smashed it to bits, and threw their provisions into the ditches lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. Some Protestants took refuge in Coleraine, where, on the 27th of March, they repelled an attack of Hamilton. But they had to contend with the treachery of pretended friends, as well as with the open hostility of enemies.

When Mountjoy withdrew from Derry, he was succeeded by Lundy, who, soon afterwards, submitted to William, that he might retain his authority, and have an opportunity of betraying the town. On the 21st of March, he and other officers of the army, with several leading citizens, signed a declaration by which they all bound themselves to oppose "the Irish enemy." On that same day, Captain James Hamilton arrived at Derry, from England, with arms, ammunition, and £595 of money. He carried a commission for Colonel Lundy to be Governor of the city, which was given to him after he had taken the oath of fidelity to King William. Having now obtained an official position of authority, Lundy began to use all the power attached to that position to advance the cause of James. Although he had 500 barrels of powder in his stores, he refused to send ammunition to towns that wished to resist the enemy; and although provisions were so plenty that a goose could be bought for threepence, forty-five eggs for a penny, and a quarter of beef for four shillings, he made no attempt to lay up a necessary store. He ordered all the garrisons of Ulster to withdraw to Derry on the plea that he had plenty of provisions there, and, soon afterwards, proposed to surrender that city on the plea that his provisions were insufficient.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY.

N the 10th of April, Counsellor Cairns returned from London to Londonderry. He brought a letter from King William to Lundy, containing promise of speedy assistance; but it produced no effect on the Governor, whose object was to betray the city.

Richard Hamilton now marched towards Londonderry. Unable to cross the river at the Waterside, he directed his course to Strabane, where the Mourne and Finn unite to form the Foyle. A few resolute men there might have prevented his passage, but Lundy had arranged everything to let him over in safety. Several regiments were ordered to guard the river at Clady and Lifford, but they were neither sent in time nor supplied with sufficient ammunition. The Irish crossed the Mourne without opposition, and

early on the 15th, came to the Finn at Clady, where the bridge had been broken down. The main body of the Protestants had not arrived, and their infantry, who guarded the ford, were easily routed; but Captain Murray, with about thirty cavalry, disputed the passage till they had exhausted the three rounds of ammunition with which each man had been supplied. The Irish then crossed without difficulty.

Meanwhile the main body of the Protestant army, numbering nearly 10,000 men, were concentrating nearer Derry; but finding the enemy had crossed, they fled without resistance. Lundy had not set out for the scene of conflict until the Irish had made good their passage. Meeting his own troops retreating before the enemy, he never attempted to rally them, but returned to the city as quickly as he could, and closed the gates on many of the Protestant fugitives who were forced to remain outside, in danger of being attacked by the Irish. That very day, Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards arrived in Lough Foyle with two regiments which King William had despatched to assist the townsmen. Lundy and a few of his friends on whom he could depend, held a council of war with Cunningham, Richards, and some of their officers. He represented that the provisions in Derry could not last more than eight or ten days, and that the place was not tenable against such an army as now marched to the assault. Therefore he advised that the two regiments be sent back, and the townspeople permitted to make terms with the enemy. This proposition was opposed by Richards, who said that "Quitting the town was quitting of a kingdom;" but Lundy carried his point, and the troops were sent back to England without being permitted to land.

Meanwhile King James had travelled northwards to join his army. On the 14th of April, he reached Omagh. The inhabitants had fled to Derry, and, before leaving, had destroyed what they could not carry with them. The houses were without windows, and the country without provisions. The roads were bad and the weather unfavourable. But the hopes of a speedy victory through Lundy's treachery impelled James to proceed to Derry, which, on the 17th, he summoned to surrender.

Within the walls, the Protestants were, meanwhile, beginning to discover the true state of affairs. Lundy's action in getting the two regiments sent back to England, convinced them of that treachery which they, previously, had only suspected. They now became mutinous, and, in their rage, fired on some officers who were escaping from the city, killing one and wounding another. Meanwhile Lundy was still proceeding with his plans for surrender. In answer to the summons of James, he sent Archdeacon Hamilton and two other gentlemen to see what terms His Majesty would grant. But when Hamilton and his companions returned, they were refused admission by the citizens.

On the 18th, King James advanced with his army to the walls, expecting the influence of Lundy to prevent active opposition to his admission. But those who guarded the gates, contrary to the

express orders of the Governor, fired on the advancing soldiers, and killed an officer at the King's side. His Majesty now retired to a safe distance, and awaited the result of his negotiations.

The people, finding they were betrayed, became fearfully excited. They threatened to kill Colonel Whitney, whom Lundy sent to order them not to fire at the Irish army, and they wanted nothing but a leader to enable them to depose the traitor within, and resist the enemy without. At that moment Adam Murray arrived from Culmore with a party of cavalry. Murray was a Presbyterian.* His ancestors lived at Philiphaugh, in Scotland, and he resided himself at Ling, on the Faughan-water. After the defeat at Cladyford, he retired to Culmore. But just as King James was seeking admission to the city he approached at the head of a large party of horsemen. Lundy and his council were then sitting to arrange a surrender. The arrival of Murray filled them with alarm, as they knew his entrance would destroy their design. Accordingly, they sent him word to withdraw his cavalry to the back side of the hill, out of sight of all those who occupied the walls. Astonished at these orders, he questioned the messenger, a relation of his own, and from him found out that the Governor was then negotiating a surrender. Murray now hastened to the town with all speed, but found the gates closed and admission refused. After some parley, the Rev. George Walker, acting on behalf of the council, offered to permit Murray himself to be drawn up the wall by a rope, and admitted, on condition that his troops should be excluded. But this offer was refused with disdain, and "in opposition to the orders of Lundy and the exertions of Walker," the gates were opened by Captain Morrison. Murray and his men were received with enthusiasm, and the city saved from surrender.

Meanwhile the council had agreed to capitulate. But alarmed when they found Murray had entered, they summoned him to appear before them. He came accompanied by his friends, with the air of one in authority, and refused with indignation to sign the terms of surrender. He openly accused Lundy of treachery, and told him that his neglect to guard the fords at Strabane was the cause of their present difficulties. He then left the council and began to make preparations for defending the city. Lundy now tried to persuade some Presbyterian ministers to advise Murray and his followers, who were nearly all of the same faith, to agree to the terms of surrender. But the ministers refused to give an advice contrary to their convictions.

The position of affairs in Derry now suddenly changed. Murray was master of the town. He compelled the captain of the guard to deliver up the keys, and placed on the walls men in whom he could trust. He was then requested to become governor himself, but unfortunately refused, declaring that his talents were rather for the field than for "conduct or government in the town." A council met to choose a governor. Baker, Mitchelburn, and

* Campbell's M.S.

Johnston were nominated, but Baker having the majority was selected. The new governor then asked permission to have an assistant to manage the department of "stores and provisions." This being granted, he selected the Rev. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, near Dungannon. Lundy, disguised as a soldier, escaped from the town, made his way to Scotland, and afterwards, together with his dupes, Cunningham and Richards, was dismissed from His Majesty's service.

There were now about 20,000 people within the walls of Derry, of whom 7,000 were able to bear arms. The fighting men were divided into eight regiments, each under a colonel; but Murray was "general in the field upon all sallies." James now sent the Earl of Abercorn to offer the town favourable terms of surrender. The citizens would all receive a free pardon, and Murray a thousand pounds for himself and a colonel's commission. Abercorn was met at the gate by Murray, who, refusing to betray his race and his religion for any personal advantage, rejected these proposals with disdain.

When King James found that the town could not be taken unless by a regular siege, he returned to Dublin, leaving the command to Maumont, who now surrounded the city, and began to throw in shells from the Waterside. On the 21st of April, a large party of the garrison made a sally. Colonel Murray, at the head of the cavalry, charged through the enemy. Three times he met their commander, General Maumont himself, who, at the final encounter, was killed.

"At last their swords in sev'ral pieces flew,
Then with their rapiers they the fight renew;
The brave Maumont began to falsify,
And thought the day his own immediately;
He wheel'd his horse, which then began to spurn,
But noble Murray made a quick return,
For under his heav'd arm his sword he thrust
Till at his neck the purple gore out burst.
His fleeting soul with the free blood expired,
And our great hero to the foot retired."*

By the death of Maumont, Richard Hamilton again became commander-in-chief of the Irish army.

In this encounter the Protestants did not lose more than a dozen men, while the enemy lost about two hundred. But this advantage

* Aickin, Londeriados. This encounter is also mentioned in *The Royal Voyage*, a play acted in 1689, and by Mackenzie, who, as well as Aickin, was in the town during the siege. The truth of Mackenzie's narrative was certified by a large number of officers including Murray himself. Yet Lord Macaulay accepts the statement of Avaux that Maumont was killed by a ball, although the French ambassador was then in Dublin, and his account was founded on mere reports. Walker, in his narrative, claims to have relieved Murray when surrounded by the enemy. But this is one of Walker's numerous deeds of heroism which nobody has mentioned except himself.

was more than counterbalanced two days afterwards when the besiegers, by capitulation, obtained possession of Culmore Fort, situated four miles north of Derry, commanding the entrance to the Foyle, and rendering relief from the sea exceedingly difficult. Encouraged by their success in the field, the Protestants sallied out on the 25th in the direction of Pennyburn. There was a series of skirmishes that day, with varying success, but the garrison lost only two men killed and about a dozen wounded. On the side of the enemy, the loss was considerable. The Earl of Abercorn had his horse killed, and escaped with difficulty, leaving behind his saddle and his scarlet cloak.

Late on the night of the 5th of May, the besiegers, under Brigadier-General Ramsay, made an attack on the Windmill Hill, a little to the south-west of the city. They drove back a few men who were guarding the place, and, taking advantage of some old ditches, began to throw up earthworks. Their object was to retain this place for a battery, and thereby attack the walls with better hope of success. Governor Baker, having determined to drive the enemy from this position so dangerous to the garrison, ordered ten men to be selected from each company to make an attack. But before his arrangements were complete, a great number of the soldiers, having become impatient, rushed out at Bishop's gate and Ferry-quay gate, under the leadership of some inferior officers, and made a furious attack on the enemy. Both parties fought hand to hand, as if the fate of the town depended on the event of that summer morning. From daylight till noon the bloody conflict continued. So close were the combatants engaged that often they struck one another with the butts of their muskets. After a fearful struggle, the citizen-soldiers were victorious. With a loss of only four killed and twenty wounded, the enemy were put to flight, Ramsay and two hundred of his men were slain, and five hundred wounded. Lord Netterville, Sir Gerard Aylmer, Lieutenant-Colonel Talbot, and Lieutenant Newcomen were taken prisoners. The Protestants then fortified the Windmill Hill, and retained possession of it afterwards in spite of the enemy.

The siege now became a blockade. Sixteen forts erected round the city prevented any possibility of obtaining provisions by sudden sallies; and the enemy hoped to conquer by famine men whom they had failed to subdue by the sword. It now became well known that Murray was the moving spirit among those by whom the town was defended.

“The name of Murray grew so terrible,
That he alone was thought invincible:
Where e'er he came the Irish fled away,
And left the field unto the English sway.”

Hamilton now determined to try whether filial love would be more powerful than bribery to induce Murray to make the town surrender. Accordingly he seized the Colonel's father, an old man of eighty, who resided a few miles from Derry, and threatened to hang him unless he would induce his son to capitulate. The old man went into the town as desired, but regardless of consequences

advised his son to hold out to the last. Murray refused to yield. His father returned to the camp, and Hamilton, to his credit, permitted him to go home unmolested.

On Saturday, the 18th of May, Captain John Cunningham and Captain Noble, with about a hundred men, made an attack on a fort which stood on the hill above Creggan. At first they seemed likely to succeed. But a party of the enemy's cavalry got between them and the city. With all the energy of despair, they cut their way back through the opposing horsemen, but Captain Cunningham and about sixteen others were killed.

Towards the end of May, the Rev. George Walker, assistant governor, was strongly suspected of embezzling the stores and endeavouring to surrender the city. Besides, he was accused of certain "personal vices," which from statements of Dr. Davis and Mackenzie, were in all probability habits of drunkenness. Colonels Murray, Hamil, Crofton, and Monro, together with upwards of a hundred other officers "subscribed a resolution to prosecute him" on these charges. But Governor Baker got the matter settled by the appointment of a council of fourteen, whom the governors were bound to consult on every matter of importance. All the colonels had seats in this council, and besides these were representatives of the town and of the country. Each member had to swear that he would not treat with the enemy without "the knowledge and order" of that council in its collective capacity.

Meanwhile the cannonade continued. Day by day, the great guns of James played on the town, and the great guns on the wall and on the flat roof of the cathedral replied. New batteries were erected, and the city was assailed from every side. At first, the shells used by the besiegers were small, but afterwards they were so large that they tore up the streets and often killed the inhabitants in their houses, and even in their cellars to which they had fled for safety. The pavements were now dug up that the bombs might sink into the soft earth where they fell.

Although Presbyterians constituted a very great majority of the Protestant inhabitants of Derry, they had been compelled to erect their Meeting-house outside the walls. It had been lately destroyed, and within the city there was no place of worship except the cathedral. This building was used during the siege by both denominations of Protestants. In the morning, it was occupied by those who used the liturgy, but then there was only a thin attendance. In the afternoon, it was at the disposal of the Presbyterians, but it was not sufficient to contain the numbers who desired to worship according to the more simple form. It was therefore necessary to have four or five other places of meeting. We learn from Mackenzie's journal, that on Tuesday, the 21st of May, "the Nonconformists kept a solemn Fast, and had sermons in two places of the city besides the cathedral, where there were considerable collections made for the poor." The Episcopal ministers in the town were maintained from the stores, or had a weekly allowance of money. The Presbyterian clergymen received nothing

from any public source. During the siege, there were eight Presbyterian and eighteen Episcopalian ministers in the town. Mackenzie acted as chaplain for Walker's regiment, who were almost all Presbyterians. Although the governors and a large proportion of the superior officers were Episcopalian, more than ninety out of every hundred of the rank and file were Presbyterians. They in reality saved the town for Ireland and Ireland for the Kingdom.

On Tuesday, the 4th of June, the enemy made a most determined attempt to recapture Windmill Hill. They came on from different directions with both infantry and cavalry. The cavalry advanced by way of the Strand, wearing armour under their clothes, and carrying faggots before them with which to fill up the trenches. The garrison, finding that their balls struck these men without result, aimed at their horses. The assailants, thrown into confusion, were attacked by a large party under Captains James and John Gladstones. Most of the enemy were killed or driven into the river, and their commander, Captain Butler, was taken prisoner. Meanwhile their infantry had made an attack between the windmill and the river, and had assailed some forts at the Bogside. They advanced in face of a fearful storm of shot, for the garrison, drawn up in three lines, were enabled, by discharging successively, to maintain an almost continual fire. The women supplied their husbands with food, drink and ammunition; and when the enemy drew near, assailed them with volleys of stones, which did considerable execution. But still the Irish advanced. They came up to the very works, when some of them were pulled over by the hair of their heads. Failing to force an entrance, the survivors at length retreated, carrying dead bodies on their backs as a protection from the volleys of shot sent after them. The enemy had about four hundred killed and wounded, and besides some were taken prisoners, while the citizens lost only five or six men. That night many bombs were thrown into the city. Of these one weighed 273 pounds and was charged with seventeen pounds of powder. The garrison now began to stand in need of balls themselves, and they used bricks cased in lead, which answered their purpose very well.

Meanwhile the defence of Derry had excited the admiration and sympathy of England. In order to relieve the city, the Government sent an expedition under command of Major-General Kirke, notorious for the cruelty with which he treated the unfortunate country people concerned in Monmouth's rebellion. Kirke arrived in Lough Foyle early in June, and, on the 8th, one of his ships, in attacking Culmore Fort, ran aground, and was considerably injured by the enemy's canons before the rising tide enabled her to be got into deep water. For some days afterwards nothing more was attempted, but, on the 13th, the sentinels on the cathedral tower saw thirty vessels in Lough Foyle.* Soon the news went throughout the city, and a thrill of joy

* Not on the 15th—as Macaulay states, following Walker.

excited the hearts of the brave men who held the town, when they saw the approach of assistance.

The Irish, now fearing lest relief might be conveyed up the river to the besieged city, made a boom of wood, bound with iron and secured by chains, which they placed in a narrow part of the river between Culmore and the town. This boom, constructed of materials which were too heavy, sank and was broken. Another was made with fir beams bound with chains. One end was secured by a bridge, and the other by wood-work and masonry. It floated on the water and was considered sufficiently strong to prevent the passage of any ship up the river.

Meanwhile the fleet lay idle, and the citizens began to grow impatient. Disappointed in obtaining speedy relief by sea, they turned their thoughts to the Enniskillen men, who, a few days before, had marched as far as Omagh. Colonel Murray, with about twenty men, embarked, during the night of the 18th of June, in a lately-constructed boat, hoping to land two boys at Dunnalong Wood, about four miles up the river, from whence it was hoped they might make their way to Enniskillen. But the boat was soon discovered by the enemy, and nearly struck by one of their numerous cannon shots. Having arrived at the wood, the boys were so much frightened that no persuasion would force them to land. The party now turned back, and the first light of a summer morning enabled them to discover that they had been followed by two of the enemy's boats which, manned by dragoons, were now in their way as they returned. A fearful engagement ensued. Both sides fired until they had exhausted their shot. One of the enemy's boats then came close, and the dragoons tried to board, but Murray's men killed a lieutenant and three of the soldiers with their weapons, and threw others into the water. The remainder surrendered, and the occupants of the second boat, seeing that the other had been captured, made off as quickly as possible. Murray, with his prize, now returned to the city amidst a fearful fire from the shore. A ball hit him on the helmet and bruised his head, but he was the only one of his party struck, and the thirteen prisoners were landed in safety.

On the very day Murray returned from this expedition, the question of relieving the city was discussed by the officers of the fleet at a Council of War held on board the *Swallow*. It was determined that, since the garrison were not pressed by the enemy or by want of provisions, they would wait until such forces arrived from England as would make it possible by land to raise the siege; or until they would receive word that the condition of affairs was desperate in the city. Accordingly Kirke made no attempt to send supplies up the river, although the wind was favourable, but lay inactive in the lough.*

While there, he succeeded in communicating with the garrison. A man named Roche who was afterwards a captain in William's army,

* Diary of the Fleet.

and a companion named Cromie, made their way from the fleet up the bank of the river until they were opposite the town. Roche then undressed, swam over, and got four guns fired from the cathedral tower as a sign of his safe arrival. But Cromie, being unable to swim, had to remain behind, and was taken by the enemy. Roche on his return went to the place where he had previously left his clothes, but was discovered by the Irish, and pursued for three miles as he ran naked through the woods torn by brambles. At last, he was overtaken by the enemy, and his jaw broken by a blow from a halbert. But he succeeded in plunging into the river, and, notwithstanding many wounds, made his way, amid a storm of bullets, back to the city. Afterwards, a man named M'Gimpsey volunteered to Colonel Murray to swim to the fleet. He carried a letter in a small bladder tied round his neck. In the bladder were also two bullets, so that, if pursued, he could, by breaking the string, allow all to sink to the bottom. But M'Gimpsey was drowned in the river, and the letter describing the desperate condition of the citizens was found by the enemy.*

On the 28th of June, the arrival of young Lord Clancarty with his regiment, to re-enforce the besiegers, created great enthusiasm among the Irish, as they firmly believed in the truth of an old prophecy that a Clancarty would one day knock at the gates of Derry. The very night of his arrival, he made a vigorous attack on the bulwarks at Butcher's Gate. But the defenders fired furiously from the walls. A party under Noble sallied out, and, after a hard contested fight, drove off the assailants. Clancarty may be said to have knocked at the gates, but he failed to enter, although he came nearer than any other who had led an attack on the town.

A dispute had previously arisen between Governor Baker and Colonel Mitchelburn. They had drawn their swords on one another, and Mitchelburn, by orders of Baker, had been placed in prison. Not long afterwards, the Governor was seized with fever, when, notwithstanding this quarrel, a council of officers by his advice selected Mitchelburn to act as his deputy. Baker died on the 30th of June, and Mitchelburn continued to act as Governor without any confirmation of his authority by the council.

The failure of Hamilton to capture the city had caused him to be superseded by General Conrad de Rosen, a Livonian by birth, a man of savage manners, barbarous speech, and cruel disposition. Angry at the successful resistance made by untrained countrymen, he raved and swore and threatened. He would demolish the town; he would bury it in ashes; he would spare neither age nor sex, if it had to be captured by storm.

First, he determined to offer favourable terms of surrender, accompanied with terrific threats. Imagining that, if the common soldiers knew the nature of his proposals, they would compel their officers to submit, he caused a dead bomb to be thrown into the town containing his conditions, signed by Hamilton, and followed

* Avaux.

by a letter of his own, indicating the penalties of a refusal. If they surrendered, all would obtain protection, liberty of conscience, and a restoration of what they had lost by the war. If they held out, then the old men and women and children left in the country would be driven to Derry, and starved to death outside the walls, if not admitted by the garrison—Rosen's idea being that, if admitted, the remaining provisions would be speedily consumed.

This plan failed; for, although supplies were now growing scarce and the mortality had become great, the rank and file were more determined than even their officers to resist to the bitter end. Accordingly Rosen's conditions were refused and his threats defied. Driven to madness, he now sent out many parties of soldiers, who collected thousands of Protestants—old men, women, and children—that had been left at home, and drove them at the point of the sword to the city walls. But admission was refused, and even the poor captives themselves, with stern determination, acquiesced in the resolution by which they were excluded.

The garrison now threatened as a reprisal to hang their prisoners of war. For this purpose, they erected a gallows on the wall, in sight of the enemy's camp. They requested Rosen to send priests to shrive those who were to suffer. The prisoners were in a state of terrific fear. They wrote to the Irish commanders that they were to be all hanged the next day, unless the Protestants without the walls were permitted to return home. Rosen was at first inflexible. He meant what he said. He would let the prisoners without perish from hunger if not admitted by their friends within. Hamilton and some of his officers remonstrated, and, at last, the non-combatants who survived were permitted to return; but many had previously perished from their hardships. Some able-bodied men who were among them remained in the town, and a few in the town who were useless, succeeded in getting away with the crowd; but others, known by their sickly appearance, were turned back. King James was himself angry when he heard of Rosen's cruelty, and said it would not have been thought of by any but a barbarous Muscovite. Rosen was now recalled and Richard Hamilton left once more in command.

Meanwhile the siege had been prosecuted with vigour. Trenches were extended to near the town, and cannons placed in commanding positions. There was even an attempt made to mine the walls, but, fortunately, the attempt was a failure. The supply of water within was insufficient, and the garrison were often exposed to great danger when they went to Columbkille's well without. But the want of food had begun to be more keenly felt than the want of water. Some of the more lukewarm deserted to the enemy. Among these it is believed that there was at least one Episcopal clergyman. Day by day provisions became more scarce, until, at last, rats and mice, fattened on the blood of the slain, were eagerly devoured. A brave soldier named John Hunter states in his journal: "I myself would have eaten the poorest cat or dog I ever saw with my eyes. The famine was so great that many a man, woman and child died for

want of food. I myself was so weak from hunger, that I fell under my musket one morning as I was going to the walls; . . . and yet when the enemy was coming, as many a time they did, . . . then I found as if my former strength returned to me. I am sure it was the Lord that kept the city, and none else."

A stench arose from the slain, and sickness became more fatal than the weapons of the enemy. The garrison, which at first numbered upwards of seven thousand fighting men, was reduced to four thousand three hundred, of whom many had contracted diseases from which they died afterwards. And yet there were some professing Protestants who had but little sympathy for these sufferings. A certain Episcopal clergyman, on hearing of how many thousands died in Derry, fighting for the Protestant religion and the liberties of the country, remarked that it was "no matter how many of them dy'd for they were but a pack of Scots Presbyterians."

Meanwhile Kirke had gone to the island of Inch by way of Lough Swilly. There he threw up entrenchments; and he appeared determined to attempt by land to relieve the city. But, over-estimating the strength of the enemy, who could not then have had more than six or seven thousand men before Derry, he remained inactive. In vain, the garrison exhibited signals of distress, and used every means in their power to urge him to do what might have been done, with less difficulty, before the boom was erected.

Everywhere throughout Ulster, Presbyterian farmers exhibited courage sadly wanting in some of the professional soldiers. When it was known that provisions were scarce in Londonderry, Mr. James Knox, who resided near Coleraine, with the assistance of his two sons, brought a herd of cattle to Lough Foyle opposite Culmore, and, on a dark night, drove them along the slob, made them swim across the river, and introduced them into the city by the "water-gate."*

On the 10th of July, Hamilton again offered favourable terms of surrender, embracing the fullest, civil, and religious liberty. Commissioners appointed by both parties arranged the preliminaries. When this proposition came before the council, Walker strongly advocated the policy of capitulating. But the majority carried a resolution not to submit, unless Hamilton would send hostages to the ships, in security of fulfilling the promised conditions, and extend time of surrender till the 26th of July. These terms were refused, and hostilities were continued. A few days afterwards† Colonel Murray led out a small party to attack the enemy who were in trenches near Butcher's gate. But, unfortunately, he was shot through both thighs, near the body, and his wounds were not healed until four months afterwards.

When provisions were almost exhausted, Mr. James Cunningham discovered a plan of making pancakes out of starch mixed with tallow. This food acted as a medicine for the sick, and it enabled the town to hold out a week longer.

* Genealogical Memoirs of John Knox

† Ash says on the 17th of July.

On Thursday, the 25th of July, the garrison made a sally with the object of capturing some cows then grazing behind the enemy's lines. At first, the attempt seemed likely to succeed. The Irish were driven out of their trenches, and sixty of them killed; but, meanwhile, the herds chased their cattle away; and the object of the attack was not accomplished. Next day, the garrison took one of their last cows outside the walls, tied her to a stake, covered her with tar, and set her on fire, thinking that her roaring would cause some of the enemy's cattle to run to her relief. But the poor animal, maddened by pain, succeeded in breaking loose from the stake, and had to be shot to prevent her running into the Irish lines.

On the 27th of July, all their cows, dogs, and available horses were killed. Ash wrote in his journal that Wednesday would be their last day, if relief did not previously arrive.

The Rev. James Gordon, Presbyterian minister of Glendermot, now paid a visit to Kirke, and pointed out to him that it would be possible to sail down the river, cut the boom, and, in this way, relieve the city. Whatever might be the motive which determined Kirke—whether the advice of Gordon or orders received from Schomberg—he now did what could have been much more easily done when he first arrived.

On the evening of Sunday, the 28th of July, the wind turned towards the North. Shortly before sunset, the sentinels on the tower saw three ships spread their sails and direct their course towards the Foyle. Two of these were merchant vessels with provisions, the third was the Dartmouth, frigate of war, commanded by Captain Leake. Sailing right before the wind, they soon arrived at Culmore. Leake then ran his frigate close to the fort, and engaged its guns, while the provision ships passed on, accompanied by the Swallow's long boat "barricadoed and armed with seamen to cut the boome." The wind now sank to a calm; but the tide was rising fast, and bore the relieving vessels onwards, amid a storm of balls from great guns along the banks of the river, which here was only 500 feet wide. All went well till the ships reached the boom, against which the Mountjoy was driven with all her force. The huge barricade cracked and yielded, but did not give way; while the ship, by force of the rebound, was stuck fast in the sand. From all sides the enemy set up a shout of triumph, which passed from man to man, until it arose around the city walls, and caused the hearts of their brave defenders to feel the agony of despair. The Irish now fired their cannons, manned their boats, and prepared to board. At that moment two regiments of their horse came galloping up, but when the first ranks were within a pike's length of the ship, she discharged at them her cannons loaded with partridge shot. Many of the enemy were killed, while the rebound of the guns drove the vessel into deep water. Meanwhile the crew of the long boat were cutting the boom. The ship, afloat once more, ran against the barricade, forcing it to give way with a tremendous crash. Just then, her gallant master, Captain Browning, was shot through the head and fell in the moment of victory. The obstruction was now passed. The

rising tide brought the vessels towards the town. To hasten their speed, the long boat took them in tow. Other boats met them on the way, and rendered similar assistance. At ten o'clock, they reached the quay in safety, and, with a loss of only five men killed, brought relief to the city. Now from man to man, along the walls, arose a cheer of triumph. The joy-bells rang loudly. The cannons thundered from the tower. Presbyterians had won what they thought was liberty, but what was in reality the privilege of being persecuted by a prelate aristocracy rather than by a Roman Catholic democracy.

A rampart of barrels filled with clay was thrown up in haste to protect those engaged in unloading. This work was accomplished with such rapidity that every family had a plentiful supper that night before retiring to rest. For two days longer the army of James continued to fire at the town; but, on the morning of the 1st of August their camp was vacant, their tents destroyed, and the line of their retreat southwards marked by many houses in flames. At Strabane, hearing of Macarthy's defeat near Newtownbutler, they were so frightened that they burst some of their great guns; and, although the winds blew and the rain fell in torrents, they retreated with precipitation, by way of Dungannon, to Dublin.

The garrison of Derry had lost about 2,800 men during the siege. Of these the vast majority died from sickness, as only about 80 were slain in battle. But of the non-combatants it is probable that more than 7,000 perished. The Irish army lost about 9,000, of whom a large proportion fell in the field. When the siege was raised, their blockading force probably did not exceed 6,000 men.

James was greatly disappointed by the result; and he said that, if there had been as many Englishmen in his army as there were of others, they would before then have brought him Derry stone by stone. The stand made by this city prevented him being able to re-enforce Dundee, who, on the 27th of July, was, as we have seen, slain at the battle of Killiecrankie.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ACTIONS OF THE ENNISKILLEN MEN.

MEANWHILE the men of Enniskillen had fought many battles, and, in almost all their battles, had been victorious. On the 11th of March, 1689, they proclaimed William and Mary. Soon afterwards, when ordered by Lundy to fall back on Londonderry, they refused obedience. Joined by many refugees from places further south, they determined to submit only when conquered.

The Irish, under Lord Galmoy, had laid siege to Crom Castle, which belonged to Captain Crichton. But 200 men, sent from Enniskillen, succeeded in entering the place. Thus re-enforced, the garrison made a furious attack on Galmoy, beat his men out of the trenches, and compelled him to retreat to Belturbet. On his arrival there, he proposed to exchange one of his prisoners, Captain Dixie, son of the Dean of Kilmore, for Captain Brian Maguire, who had been captured by the Protestants. This proposal was accepted, and Maguire sent to Belturbet. But Galmoy, instead of liberating Dixie, ordered him and another prisoner named Charleton to be tried by court-martial for making war against King James. Having been found guilty, and sentenced to death, they were offered their lives on condition of becoming Roman Catholics. This proposition they rejected with disdain, and, consequently, were both hanged from a sign-post in Belturbet. Their heads were afterwards cut off; and, having been first "kickt about the streets for foot-balls," were fixed on the market-house. Maguire, who had been set at liberty, was so disgusted with Galmoy's perfidy, that he refused to remain any longer in the service of King James.

About the end of March, Governor Hamilton sent a detachment of cavalry to obtain a share of the arms and ammunition which had arrived in Derry. But Colonel Lundy gave the party a "very cold welcome," and they succeeded in obtaining only five barrels of powder out of five hundred then in store, and sixty old muskets without stock or lock; but these were afterwards fitted up so as to be serviceable.

A party under the command of Lloyd, whom Witherow terms, the Murray of Enniskillen, drove the enemy from Trillick, and made successful raids in many different directions. They burned Augher Castle, and brought home such a large quantity of provisions and cattle, that a cow could be bought in Enniskillen for two-shillings, while the inhabitants of Londonderry were dying with famine.

The Protestant garison of Ballyshannon, commanded by Captain Folliott, was now besieged by a strong party of the enemy, and Lloyd advanced to their relief. At Belleek, three miles from Ballyshannon, he encountered the Irish, drawn up in a narrow pass, barricaded in front, a bog on one flank, and Lough Erne on the other. But Lloyd was shown a pass by which his men advanced safely. The enemy, fearing that they were about to be flanked, fled from a position they had thought impregnable, leaving behind them three hundred killed, wounded, or prisoners. Thus the siege of Ballyshannon was raised.

About the end of May, Lloyd set out with 1500 men on another expedition. He captured Ballinacarrig Castle, and advanced to Kells, within thirty miles of Dublin, where he created great consternation. Having captured 500 horses, 5,000 "black cattle," the same number of sheep, and a large store of arms, he returned, without the loss of a single man. All this time, Sarsfield was encamped at Manorhamilton, sixteen miles west of Enniskillen.

Emboldened by their victories, the men of Enniskillen now determined to try the possibility of relieving Derry by marching past Omagh, capturing the Irish position at the Waterside, and, from thence, carrying supplies to the town across the Foyle. Against the wishes of the whole army, Governor Hamilton determined to take the command, leaving the ever-victorious Lloyd in charge of Enniskillen. On the 10th of June, he set out with 2,000 men. Having marched as far as Omagh, he found there a party of the enemy fortified in the house of Captain Mervin, and, before they could be compelled to surrender, he heard from prisoners that Lord Clancarty, with three regiments, was approaching on his march to Derry. Under these circumstances, Hamilton thought it wiser to retreat to Enniskillen.

Lloyd now started with a large force to attack Brigadier Sutherland, who was gathering stores at Belturbet. But Sutherland, frightened by exaggerated reports of his enemy's strength, beat a hasty retreat, leaving behind a garrison which surrendered to Lloyd on his arrival. Three hundred prisoners, seven hundred muskets, with ammunition and provisions, were thus obtained, without losing the life of a single man.

The Duke of Berwick, an illegitimate son of King James by Arabella Churchill, was sent, at the head of a large detachment of Irish, to prevent raids between Derry and Enniskillen, and to maintain communications with Dublin. On the 13th of July, he advanced from Trillick towards Enniskillen. Unfortunately Lloyd was absent, as he had been sent to communicate with Kirke, through the Captain of the Bonadventure, then in Killybegs. Governor Hamilton, with 100 infantry and a party of cavalry, met the enemy a very short distance from the town. He ordered Lieutenant MacCarmick to make a stand with the infantry, promising that he would be supported by the cavalry, and that re-enforcements would be sent immediately. MacCarmick did as he was told, although suspecting he would be left to his fate. Hamilton then returned to Enniskillen, and, notwithstanding that the way along which he went back was full of "armed men," neglected to send relief to the gallant few who had dared to encounter an army. At last, when urged by Lieutenant Campbell and Captain Webster, he ordered a company, on the other side of the lough, two miles away, to be sent; but they failed to arrive in time.

Meanwhile the enemy with 600 dragoons on foot and two troops of horse, made a furious attack on MacCarmick. But his infantry stood so firmly and fired with such execution, that the enemy began to retreat. The Protestant cavalry, under Montgomery and King, instead of rendering assistance, turned, without firing a single shot, and fled from the field. The dismounted dragoons of the enemy immediately charged. Just then, two troops of their horse coming up surrounded the Protestant infantry and cut them to pieces. MacCarmick's son was killed at his side, and he was himself taken prisoner. Of his whole force only about 30 escaped. Among these was a brave soldier named James Wilson. Surrounded by a number

of dragoons, he was assailed by all at once. Some of them he stabbed, others he struck down with his musket, and several he threw under the feet of their own horses. At last, wounded in twelve places, his cheeks hanging over his chin, he fell into a bush. There a sergeant struck through his thigh, with a halbert; but Wilson, exerting all his strength, pulled it out, and ran it through the sergeant's heart. By the assistance of this halbert he walked back to Enniskillen. Afterwards, he was cured of his wounds, and survived for thirty years.

This engagement was fought within cannon shot of the town, and Berwick did not venture to draw nearer to the fort, but withdrew from the neighbourhood, and continued to keep the communications of the army before Derry open with the capital.

On the 12th of July, Commissioners from Enniskillen arrived with General Kirke, who, in compliance with their request, sent the town a large supply of arms and ammunition, and also some officers under command of Colonel Wolseley. These officers arrived in Enniskillen on the very day that Derry was relieved. Before they were many hours in the town, it was reported that General Macarthy had made an attack on Crom Castle, and that he intended to place a garrison in Lisnaskea, which was only ten miles from Enniskillen. Wolseley immediately sent Colonel Berry with a large party of cavalry and infantry to take possession of Lisnaskea Castle before it could be occupied by the enemy. But finding it in ruins, he then marched to oppose Macarthy. Taking up a strong position with a bog in front, he sent to Wolseley for re-enforcements, and awaited the enemy, who soon appeared, and under Anthony Hamilton, "the most brilliant and accomplished of all who bore the name," advanced to the attack along a road in front. But the Enniskillen men opened a furious fire. Hamilton was wounded, and his second in command killed. The Irish retreated, and their retreat soon became a flight. Berry followed them a mile beyond Lisnaskea; but, finding himself coming in front of their main body, he stopped the pursuit.

Meanwhile, Wolseley had arrived with strong re-enforcements, who in their hurry had forgotten to bring provisions. Compelled, therefore, to either fight at once or retreat, Wolseley put it to the men themselves, whether to advance or to retire, and they unanimously determined to advance. The battle word was then given, "No Popery," and the Protestants, 2,200 strong, marched to attack Macarthy, who was at the head of about 3,500 men. As Wolseley advanced, the Irish retreated, until they came to a hill near Newtownbutler, where they tried to make a stand. But the Protestants came on with such fury that Macarthy withdrew from his position, burned Newtownbutler, and, about a mile beyond the village, placed his army on a hill with a bog in front, through which passed a narrow road completely commanded by his artillery. Wolseley began the attack immediately. His cavalry tried to pass along this road, but were brought to a stand by the fierce fire of the enemy's guns. Lloyd on the left and Tiffin on the right, now pressed on with the infantry through the bog and up the hill. They killed


the gunners who were firing the canuons, and then rushed against the main body of the enemy. The Protestant cavalry now dashed along the road, and charged up the hill. The Irish horse retreated; and the foot, seeing the others flee, fled themselves. Being ignorant of the country, most of them took the direction of Lough Erne. The cavalry escaped; but the infantry, with the lough before and the Protestants behind, had only a choice between death in the lake or by the sword. About five hundred took to the water and were all drowned, except one man who swam across. Macarthy himself was wounded and taken prisoner. In all, the Irish lost about 2,000 slain, 500 drowned, and 400 prisoners. This battle was fought on the 31st of July, and that very night the army of James raised the siege of Londonderry.

The Enniskillen men now resolved to attack Sarsfield, who lay near Bundoran; but he retreated on hearing of the defeat at Newtownbutler. They then determined to give battle to the Duke of Berwick, but, immediately afterwards, heard that the army of James had passed Castlecaulfield on their way to Dublin. It was then too late to follow.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gore, by orders of Colonel Tiffin, went with three troops of horse and 150 infantry to reconnoitre in the direction of Sligo. Gore, by means of a spy, succeeded in making Sarsfield believe that his foes were only the advanced guard of a large army, and the Irish General evacuated the town without firing a shot. A few hours afterwards, Gore entered and captured a large quantity of arms and provisions.

CHAPTER XX.

HOW THE DEFENDERS OF DERRY WERE REWARDED.

FTER Derry was relieved, Kirke assumed despotic authority in the city, and he refused to send soldiers through the country to protect the lives and property of Protestants from marauding parties of the enemy. In consequence of this neglect, Limavady was burned the week after Derry was delivered. Under pretence of making provisions cheap, he seized the cattle of many Protestant farmers in the neighbourhood, pretending they belonged to the enemy, and sold them to butchers. By a process of amalgamating regiments, many officers were dismissed, and some who had themselves purchased arms for their men were placed under the command of others who had not for this purpose expended a single

penny. He took away Murray's horse, seized the saddles his horsemen had bought at their own expense, and in every way treated the people of Derry as if they had been enemies he had conquered rather than friends he had relieved.*

The sick received no provisions from the stores, and many of them, trying to regain their homes, died by the way. One brave soldier who lived near Lifford had left his wife and family of young children at home when he went to Derry. In his absence, an Irish soldier, who had formerly been his own servant, came to rob his family. On entering, he at once asked his former mistress where her money was kept. She replied that he knew very well himself, handing him the key of a large oaken chest. The soldier opened the lock, raised the weighty lid, and stooped down to secure the money within. Then the lady, watching her opportunity, dashed the lid with terrific force on the soldier's neck, jumped on the top herself, and held it down with her weight till she was sure the robber was dead. Afterwards, in the silence of night, she and her servant maid buried the body in a neighbouring field. Her husband was sick unto death when the siege was raised, and he endeavoured to make his way home. His wife, hearing of his approach, set out to meet him, carrying concealed in her clothing food and bottles of milk; for she feared that if these were seen they might be taken from her by some of the many soldiers returning in a state of starvation through the cruelty of Kirke. At last, meeting her husband, she failed to recognise him, for the shadow of death was on his countenance. Then, when she knew him, clasping him with joy, she gave him refreshment, and they proceeded homewards. But he grew weak rapidly, and, as they drew near their dwelling, he sank down and died in sight of the home, which his wife had so courageously guarded. In that same place, their descendants, faithful to the religious and political principles of their forefathers, still live.

The treatment which the defenders of Derry received from the Government was quite as bad as the treatment they had received from Kirke. A committee, appointed by the English House of Commons, admitted that a sum of £195,091 was due to the Derry and Enniskillen regiments for arrears of pay; of which only £9,806 had been paid. Besides this, a sum of £138,000 was expended by the officers and soldiers on their own maintenance, and on horses, arms, and, accoutrements which were made use of by the Government, without any recompense or allowance to the owners.†

Although the just claims of these gallant soldiers were admitted, the debt was never discharged. On the other hand, Walker, who had tried to induce the Council to surrender, received the recompense of a hero; and Captain Corry, who had threatened to put in prison any-

* Lord Macaulay surely knew that he stated what was incorrect when he asserted that then "The city was in the highest good humour."

† A View of the Danger and Folly of being Public-Spirited, by William Hamill. (1721.)

body who took arms to defend Enniskillen, got £2,000 and an estate as his reward.* Poor Mitchelburn failed to get even the arrears of his pay, was refused the governorship of Culmore Fort, and, being unable to discharge his debts, was placed in prison.

After Derry was relieved, Kirke sent the Rev. George Walker to present King William with an address, signed by the chief defenders of the town. Walker set out on the 9th of August, 1689. He went by way of Scotland, and was presented with the freedom of Glasgow and Edinburgh. In London, the King received him with favour, and the public with acclamations. He published an account of the siege, which had a large sale, and ran through several editions. In this work, he alluded to himself as the Governor, and to the Governor as Colonel Mitchelburn. He claimed to have led the garrison in several desperate conflicts, to have performed many daring deeds of valour, and to be in reality the person who saved the town. But these deeds of valour are recorded by himself alone. We have it on the best authority that during the siege he was a man of peace, and that the only blood he shed was "the blood of the grape." Although Walker knew well that the Rev. Alexander Osborne, a Dublin Presbyterian clergyman, was the person who first informed the Ulster Protestants of Tyrconnell's deceptive designs, he had the audacity to assert that Osborne was a spy of the Lord Deputy. He conveyed to his readers the impression that Mr. David Houston, a Covenanting preacher, had raised divisions among the Protestants in Derry, although Houston was not in the neighbourhood at the time. He concealed the fact that, on the 18th of April, Murray prevented the surrender of the town. He gave the Presbyterians no credit for their defence of the city, although they were nine out of every ten of the rank and file; and he told a deliberate falsehood in stating he did not know the names of the Presbyterian clergymen in the town during the siege, although a correct list of them had been given to him before his book was published. Mackenzie had been chaplain to his own regiment, and, when in Edinburgh, Walker was able to mention them by name to Mr. Osborne, whom he hastened to asperse. But his great object was to make the world believe that the Presbyterian defenders of Derry were a miserable minority, and that he, who had never headed a sally or repulsed an attack was a great military hero, entitled to all the rewards due for saving the town he had tried to surrender. Such was Walker. But his story, having got the start, was believed by the world, and some, even now, have magnified this miserable old meddler into a military genius and a hero.

In London, there was nobody at first to contradict his assertion, and he was taken at his own estimate of himself. The world thought he had saved the city. Crowds followed him when he appeared in public. He received £5,000, the thanks of Parliament, and the promise of a Bishopric, while the real defenders of the town were left in starvation.

* The Earls of Belmore are descended from Captain Corry.

Walker's account had not been long issued until an anonymous pamphlet entitled "An Apology for the Failures charged on the Rev. Mr. George Walker's Printed Account of the late Siege of Derry," was published, in which a few of his mistakes were pointed out and his assumptions exposed. Some friends of Mr. Walker replied, and, before the end of 1689, Walker himself published a vindication of his "True Account." In this, he practically admits many of the charges, by not attempting to refute them. Early in 1690, the Rev. J. Boyse, of Dublin, published his "Vindication" of the Rev. Alexander Osborne from the accusation made by Walker that he was a spy of Tyrconnel. In this pamphlet the "Governor of Derry" was absolutely crushed, and neither he nor any of his friends ventured to reply.

In order to give the world a true account of the defence of Derry, the Rev. John Mackenzie, minister of Cookstown, and chaplain of Walker's own regiment, published "A Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry." Before publication, it was read over to Colonel Murray, Colonel Crofton, Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, Captain Saunderson, and Captain Samuel Murray, who gave their assent to its contents. This fact is certified by Sir Arthur Rawdon, Sir Arthur Langford, Colonel Upton, Mr. David Cairns, and several others who, at the same time, had been present, and had concurred in Mackenzie's statements. This narrative may, therefore, be regarded as the united account of all these gentlemen. It related many circumstances not told by any other historian. It did justice to Murray and Noble, put Walker in his proper position, and proved the falsehood of his "True Account" and his "Vindication." Walker did not venture to reply. A friend of his, supposed to be Bishop Vesey, published a pamphlet entitled "Mr. John Mackenzie's Narrative a False Libel." In this, he printed some certificates from officers who had lost their property during the siege, and who thought the influence of Walker would be useful in recovering what they sought. But even they dealt in generalities and did not venture to contradict the main charges. Mackenzie then published "Dr. Walkers Invisible Champion Foyl'd;" to which crushing reply neither Walker nor any of his friends ventured to rejoin.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BOYNE, AUGHHRIM, AND LIMERICK.

MEANWHILE James summoned a Parliament to meet on the 7th of May. The Protestant freeholders did not venture to vote. The Corporations had been re-modelled by Tyrconnel, and the Protestant peers did not obey the summons to attend. Accordingly very few were present except Roman Catholics. This Parliament repealed the Act of Settlement, passed

in 1662, which confirmed Protestant owners in the estates of Roman Catholics forfeited on account of rebellion. All the landed property in Ireland was restored to the representatives of those who possessed it before the 23rd of October, 1641; and there was also a provision to the effect that parties who owned estates should forfeit them, if they had held any correspondence with those in arms against His Majesty. These enactments struck a blow at almost every Protestant landowner in Ireland. If the estate had come to the family before 1641, it was confiscated by one provision of the Act; if obtained afterwards, it was confiscated by another provision.

An Act of Attainder was also passed by which nearly 2,500 persons were by name declared guilty of high treason, unless they would surrender for trial before a specified day; and the Act was kept secret until the day was past. The result was that 2,461 persons were proclaimed traitors, although some of them were at that very time in the service of King James, before the walls of Londonderry. The tithe payable by Roman Catholics was transferred to their own clergy, and in many places Episcopal incumbents were thus left without maintenance. Although the same Parliament passed an Act giving liberty of conscience, Protestants could not be persuaded that their religion would be respected by men who took away their lives and their property. Money being scarce with James, he got a number of brass utensils, and of old cannons melted and coined into half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences. But foreign countries would not accept of this base coin in exchange for their commodities, and prices soon rose so high that a person had to carry the full of a bag of money in order to purchase but a few articles.

When it was reported in Dublin that the battle of Newtown-butler had been lost, and the siege of Londonderry raised, Avaux proposed to slaughter every Protestant whom the Government could apprehend; but James refused to accept of the suggestion. The object of the French Ambassador was to render the separation between England and Ireland complete. The object of James was to regain the Crown of England which he had lost.

But the Irish Protestants were soon to receive substantial assistance. On Tuesday, the 13th of August, Schomberg, lately created a Duke, landed at Groomsport with about 10,000 men. He was a German by birth, a Calvinist in religion, and the ablest master of the science of war then alive. Notwithstanding his eighty years, he still sat in the saddle with dignity and firmness. On the field of Montes Claros he had saved the Portuguese monarchy from destruction in its struggle with Spain. Having afterwards risen to the position of Marshal in France, he laid down his high office for sake of the true faith, and had come with William to England. The English Parliament, to compensate him for his losses, had made him the munificent grant of one hundred thousand pounds.* Yet we

* Witherow, who is generally accurate, made a mistake in conveying the impression that Schomberg received only an annuity of £500 a year. *The Boyne and Aughrim* p. 33.

must not forget that the same Parliament never gave the gallant defenders of Derry and Enniskillen even the arrears of their pay. As soon as Schomberg had landed his troops, he marched to Carrickfergus, which was captured with a loss of about 200 men. The country people, who were all "Irish Scots," thronged round the prisoners, and would, probably, have taken their lives, had the Duke not ridden in among the Protestants, pistol in hand, and prevented them assailing their defenceless enemies.

Schomberg then proceeded to Belfast, and, without delay, began his march southwards. Had he pressed on rapidly, he might have taken Dublin, then defenceless. But he encamped at Dundalk to await the arrival of cannons and supplies. By this delay, he missed the opportunity of capturing the capital, and lost many men from the unhealthy position of his camp.

Meanwhile King James had collected an army of 30,000 men, and offered battle to the Protestants. Schomberg feared to attack a force so superior in numbers, and James feared to attack a general so distinguished as Schomberg. Colonel Lloyd, however, at the head of the Enniskillen men, defeated a large party of the enemy who were marching towards Sligo, killed, it is said, 700 of them, took many prisoners, and captured 8,000 cattle.

After Schomberg had lost one-third of his army by disease, he retreated northwards. Although his campaign could not be regarded as successful, his presence brought security to the Ulster Presbyterians, who returned to their farms and rebuilt their houses. James received re-enforcements of men and supplies of money from France, then at war with Great Britain; but his cause was much weakened by quarrels between his Irish and his French followers.

Two colonels named O'Reilly held the town of Cavan at this time for the Jacobites. Re-enforced by Berwick, they resolved to surprise Wolseley, who then held Belturbet for William. But Wolseley had himself determined to surprise the O'Reillys, and he arrived at Cavan with 700 foot and five troops of cavalry, just as the drums were beating to assemble the Irish troops before marching to attack Belturbet. After a desperate engagement, he drove the infantry into the fort, captured the town, destroyed a vast quantity of provisions, and then retreated in safety—taking Killeshandra Castle on his way back.

On the 14th of May, Schomberg obtained possession of Charlemont Castle by capitulation. This building had been erected about 1602 by Sir Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, then Lord Lieutenant, and was named after himself. It stood on rising ground, about four acres in extent, with the Blackwater on one side and a bog on the other, and it was reckoned one of the most important strongholds in Ulster.

When the Irish marched out, their appearance created considerable amusement. Their commander, Teague O'Regan, was dressed in an old red coat, a weather-beaten wig, a narrow white beaver hat, a yellow cravat tied to the one side, boots with a thousand wrinkles, and, although the day was hot, a large muff

around him. He was very drunk with brandy, and mounted on an old spavined horse, quite lame, yet exceedingly vicious. Thus equipped, he approached the Duke to pay his respects. But Teague's horse began to fling with such vehemence that the two commanders were compelled to cut short their conference. The Irish officers were hospitably entertained by the Duke, and the common soldiers received each a loaf out of the stores. On the way to Armagh, a priest who had been in Charlemont, began to discuss the doctrine of transubstantiation with one of Schomberg's dragoons. Unable to reply to the soldier's arguments, or to stand the merriment evoked by his wit, the priest began to enforce his theology with blows. These the dragoon returned, and the clergyman was severely beaten. A complaint against the soldier's conduct was made to O'Regan, when he was dining with the officers in Armagh. But he replied, with an oath, that he was glad of it. "What had the priest to do to dispute religion with a dragoon?"

King William, finding that in England people were becoming impatient at the slowness with which the war in Ireland was conducted, determined to assume the command himself, and, on the 14th of June, landed at Carrickfergus. From this place he proceeded to Belfast, when he was received by the Sovereign, Captain Robert Leathes,* and conducted to the Castle, where he was entertained by Sir William Franklin. The townspeople were nearly all Presbyterians, and they received, with the wildest demonstrations of joy, the great king who was now regarded as the champion of Protestantism. At night, the town was illuminated, and bonfires burned on every hill around.

When William arrived in Ireland it had about one million three hundred thousand inhabitants, almost all farmers, who themselves tilled the lands that they held, and manufactured the clothing that they wore. There was not a single town of considerable size in the kingdom except Dublin, which then contained about thirty thousand inhabitants. Throughout Ulster the largest places were mere villages. In 1660, Belfast contained only "five streets and five lanes with 150 houses," which would indicate a population of eight hundred. Six years afterwards, there were 204 houses rated for hearth money, and the number increased year by year. When William entered the town it was then probably larger than Carrickfergus, and, after Derry, the most populous place in Ulster. It contained about 2,200 inhabitants. All the houses were then covered with thatch,† and, even so late as 1700, there were only ten slated dwellings in the town. It was lighted by lanterns "hung, at every other house doore or window time about in ye Dark Nights from ye houres of six to tenn, from ye 29th of September to ye 29th of March ffollowing." As a protection against fire, it was ordered that all

* In Killen's edition of Reid, vol. II., p. 402, the chief magistrate is erroneously called, Captain Robert Leather.

† The Town Book of the Corporation of Belfast, edited by Robert M. Young, B.A., C.E.; M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A.I.

"wooden chymneys should be forthwith pulled down and bricke chymneys made in steede thereof;" and, in 1686, it was enacted that every inhabitant of "sixty pounds free substance" should furnish one "leathern buckett" to be delivered to the Sovereign, who was himself to provide, at the public charge, ladders and also poles with hooks and chains for pulling down houses, on the occasion of fire.

There were various regulations for keeping the town clean. Butchers were compelled to carry "ye Blood and Garbage" of "beasts or cattle" slaughtered, "twenty yards beyond the full sea mark." In 1667, various laws previously passed were confirmed. By one of these, it was declared unlawful for any inhabitant to suffer horses, cows, swine, or geese to wander about in the streets or to cause any dunghill to be made before his door, or to cast any carion or loathsome thing into the river which ran down High Street, on the pain of forfeiting five shillings for each offence.

Such was Belfast when William entered the town. Evidently he was pleased with the enthusiasm in his cause exhibited by the people who were almost all Presbyterians. A deputation of Presbyterian clergymen consisting of the Rev. Patrick Adair, Belfast; the Rev. Archibald Hamilton, Armagh; and the Rev. William Adair, Ballyeaston, waited on His Majesty, and were received most graciously. It is said that Mr. Patrick Adair had several interviews with the King, who took great interest in his conversation and was evidently impressed by the information he communicated.

On William's march southward, he issued from his "Court at Hillsborough," on the 19th of June, 1690, an order to Christopher Carleton, collector of the port of Belfast, to pay £1,200 a year to trustees on behalf of the Irish Presbyterian clergymen. Afterwards this grant was put on the civil list and paid out of the Irish exchequer. It is generally stated that it produced at first eleven pounds a year for each minister. But, until the numerous vacancies were filled, it must have given each annuitant about twenty pounds, after making allowance for the miscellaneous purposes to which the Synod sometimes applied part of the grant. The Bounty being a fixed sum, the amount payable to each recipient became less as the number of clergymen increased. From this sprung a tendency to oppose the erection of new congregations, which counterbalanced much of the good that the endowment otherwise effected.

As William passed along, he was favourably impressed with the appearance of the country, which he declared was a land worth fighting for. Mindful of the mistake of Schomberg, he said "he did not come there to let grass grow under his feet." At Loughbrickland, he reviewed his army, which consisted of 36,000 men, English, Irish, and Scotch; Dutch, Danes and French Huguenots. On the 25th of June, he reached Newry, and on the 30th was close to the Irish, 35,000 strong, who were posted near Drogheda, on the right bank of the Boyne. The same evening, while he rode along the bank of the river to view the enemy's position, musket balls sometimes whistled over the heads of his party, or struck the ground beside them. But His Majesty rode on regardless of danger. Having come to a

rising ground, he alighted to take some refreshments. Meanwhile, under cover of a party of cavalry, the enemy had placed two field pieces behind a hedge on the other side of the river, and they opened fire just as the King remounted. The first ball killed a man and two horses. The second glanced off the bank of the river, and, in rising, struck the King's shoulder, cut a piece out of his coat, and tore off a little of the flesh. Mr. Coningsby placed a handkerchief on the wound, and His Majesty rode off to have it properly dressed, remarking that there was "no great need for the bullet coming any nearer." Having put on a fresh coat, he rode about all evening, examining the positions and making his arrangements.

Next morning, the sun shone from a cloudless sky, as the rival armies prepared for battle. The soldiers of William put green sprigs in their hats, while the Irish exhibited bits of white paper. The troops of James occupied a strong position on a range of hills, along the right bank of the Boyne, with a morass on their left. These hills were fortified by entrenchments, and they were so intersected by hedges and ditches that, in many places, they were impassable by cavalry.

William led his army across the river in three divisions. General Douglas and Meinhart Schomberg, one of the Duke's sons, crossed with 10,000 men higher up at Slane. They put the Irish cavalry to flight and killed Sir Neal O'Neill, their commander. Then they encountered such a large body of infantry posted behind hedges that, for a time, their progress was obstructed. But, on the arrival of re-enforcements, the enemy were put to flight and pursued by Schomberg, who wished to secure the pass of Duleek behind the Irish, where the road, only a few feet wide, ran amidst a morass; but his progress through bogs and over fences was exceedingly slow.

The enemy now withdrew their French auxiliaries and Sarsfield's horse from the centre at Oldbridge, to re-enforce their left hard pressed by Meinhart Schomberg. The Duke then ordered the second detachment of William's army to cross the river and attack the weakened centre of the Irish. The Dutch guards, under Solmes, first entered the water, crowding so closely together that the stream rose up to their armpits. Then the men of Derry and Enniskillen dashed forwards, and La Caillemotte plunged in with the French Huguenots. Further down, the Danes endeavoured to force their passage. The Irish now opened fire, and the shot came quickly from batteries, and breastworks, and from behind hedges. But Schomberg pressed his men onwards, and the river was safely crossed. Richard Hamilton now made a furious charge. He drove the Danes back into the stream; he attacked the Huguenots, and La Caillemotte was mortally wounded. Schomberg, seeing his men in disorder, plunged into the river to rally them; he crossed in safety; but, on the other side, was surrounded by the enemy and killed on the spot.

The conflict raged furiously here with doubtful success, until the King, victorious on the left, arrived with re-enforcements sufficient to roll back the tide of war and make sure of victory. William had

crossed nearer Drogheda amid a storm of bullets from the enemy, who lined the hedges and breast works. But, after a fierce fight, he drove the Irish backwards, overcame all opposition, and arrived to assist the centre disorganized by Schomberg's death. He now put himself at the head of the Enniskillen men and led them forward; but not wishing, wounded as he was, to go into a hand to hand conflict, turned aside a little before meeting the enemy. His action was mistaken by the colonists, who, although brave, were untrained, and they followed the King instead of charging the enemy. William now led forward a Dutch regiment. The Enniskillen men, having seen their mistake, charged at once, and the Irish were put to flight. Richard Hamilton, at the head of the cavalry, made a terrific effort to retrieve the fortune of the day, but his men were repulsed, and he himself taken prisoner within a few yards of the King. "Do you think," asked William of his prisoner, "will the Irish fight any more?" "Yes, please Your Majesty," said he, "upon my honour, I think they will." "*Your honour*," said the King, sarcastically, remembering how Hamilton had deceived him before. But then he gave orders that they should attend to the prisoner's wounds.

The battle was now won, but the Irish retreated in good order. Meinhart Schomberg had failed to reach in time the pass of Duleek behind the Irish army. James stood on Dunore Hill, watching the battle, and remained there until the troops of William approached in pursuit. Then, protected by Sarsfield's cavalry, he made such haste to retreat that he arrived in Dublin the same evening, to bring the news of his own defeat. Next day he left the city never to return. Embarking at Kinsale, he took refuge in France.

In the battle of the Boyne, the Irish lost about fifteen hundred men and the Protestants five hundred. Among these were Schomberg the foremost captain of Europe, and poor old Walker, lately nominated Bishop of Derry, whose death was a positive gain. When William heard that he was killed at the ford, he asked, "what took *him* there?" This reply did not arise from want of feeling, as when he heard of Schomberg's death, his eyes filled with tears, and he said, "I have lost my father." But as Macaulay remarks, he thought Walker "a busybody who had been properly punished for running into danger without any call of duty." In all probability, he had learned the true character of the vain old man from Adair in Belfast. William entered Dublin without opposition, and was received with acclamations by the entire Protestant population assembled at College Green. The news of his victory was received with delight in England, in Holland, in Austria, and, strange to say, even in Rome, as the Pope was strongly opposed to the pretensions of Lewis, and favoured Austria, then allied with Great Britain.

The Bishops of Meath and Limerick, with a number of Episcopal clergy, met the King, congratulated him on his victory, and promised their obedience. Dr. Dopping, the Bishop of Meath, had presented a similar address to King James a few months previously. On the last Sunday of June, he and his clergy prayed for King James, and, on the first Sunday of July, they offered up prayers for William

whom they lately denounced as a usurper. In some places the Episcopal clergy had thus prayed backwards and forwards four times. For example, Dr. King, afterwards Bishop of Derry, had, in the beginning of 1689, prayed that God would give King James the victory over all his enemies. In the following March, he offered up the same prayer for William, and, after the "Break of Dromore," he began, once more, to pray for James. But, when Schomberg landed, he turned round again to pray for William. No wonder Queen Mary said, with reference to the Irish Episcopal Church, "Everybody agrees that it is the worst in Christendom."

William, with about 20,000 men, proceeded to Limerick, leaving his artillery in charge of a small party which followed. Information of this being conveyed to Sarsfield, he set out with a detachment of cavalry, got behind William's army, surprised the guards, and burst the canons. The King had heard of Sarsfield's expedition, and fearing his object, ordered Sir John Lainer with 500 horsemen to re-enforce the party in charge of the guns; but, by some mistake, these orders were not obeyed for several hours afterwards, and Lainer had proceeded only a short distance when he heard the noise of the explosion, proving that all was over.

Limerick stands on an island in the Shannon, and has suburbs on both sides of the river connected with that island by bridges. It was defended by an Irish garrison under the French commander Boisseleau. Almost all the heavy artillery having been destroyed by Sarsfield, and William, fearing that the autumnal rains would produce fever in his camp, began to meditate raising the siege. Before leaving, he made an attempt to take the town by storm, on the 27th of August; but, after the attacking party had entered, they were driven back with a loss of 500 killed and about 1,000 wounded. William then raised the siege, placed his army in winter quarters, and embarked for England.

At that very time, the Earl of Marlborough, sent by the Government with 5,000 men to reduce Cork, was waiting at Portsmouth for a favourable wind. On the 23rd of September, he landed in Ireland, and he began the siege at once. The garrison, wanting ammunition, surrendered in a few days. From Cork, he proceeded to Kinsale which also capitulated. In five weeks after leaving England, Marlborough had returned, having done more for the King, as people said, in three weeks than some of his foreign generals in two years.

During the campaign of 1691, William remained in Holland to direct operations against France, and his place in Ireland, as Commander-in-Chief, was supplied by General Ginkell. The Irish were led by Saint Ruth, a French general of great ability, known as "The Scourge of the Heretics," on account of the relentless cruelty with which he conducted war against the Calvinists in his native country.

Saint Ruth, with 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse, was encamped near Athlone. This town, strongly fortified, is divided into two parts by the Shannon, which flows through it with great rapidity. Ginkell

marched thitherward from Mullingar. Capturing Ballymore on his way, he arrived, on the 19th of June, before the fortifications of Athlone. Being well supplied with artillery, he soon made a breach in the wall* of the English town which lay next him on the east bank of the Shannon. A storming party, commanded by General Mackay of Killiecrankie renown, entered the opening and captured this part of the town without difficulty. Among the slain was General Kirke, whose merit in relieving Derry was more than counterbalanced by his wickedness and cruelty. Saint Ruth was so certain of being able to defend Athlone that he said:—"Ginkell's master ought to hang him for trying to take Athlone, and mine ought to hang me if I lose it."

The enemy had broken down part of the bridge which crossed the Shannon at this place. Ginkell succeeded in getting all the breach repaired, except one arch, when a covered way, used for protecting his workmen, was burned by the Irish. He then determined to try whether it would be possible to cross by a ford. Two Danish soldiers, under sentence of death, were induced, by a promise of pardon, to cross over the greater part of the river. Being taken for deserters, the Irish did not fire till they had turned back, and the shower of balls then sent after them either missed their mark or glanced harmlessly off their armour.

In the evening of the 30th of June, deserters brought information that the enemy, expecting no further attack that day, had retired to their camp. Ginkell immediately gave orders to cross the river. Mackay led one detachment through by the ford. Another crossed the bridge on planks thrown over the broken arch, and a third used pontoons. Saint Ruth had retired to the camp to prepare for a banquet in the evening. The garrison, in his absence, made but slight resistance, and with a loss of 29 killed and about 40 wounded, Ginkell became master of the remaining part of Athlone.

Saint Ruth, maddened with disappointment, determined to hazard a pitched battle. He placed his army near Aughrim Castle, on the slope of a hill which extends for two miles. In front and to the left were bogs almost impassable. Two roads led to this position. One was on the Irish right. The other was between the bog in front and the bog on the left. On the evening of Sunday, the 12th of July, Ginkell, with about 18,000† men, arrived in front of the Irish position. He commenced the attack by sending along the path on the enemy's right a strong detachment, who forced their way across, although the Irish fought with great courage. Mackay, who com-

* Lord Macaulay is mistaken in supposing that Athlone was surrounded by ramparts of earth alone, as there were walls round the English town.

† Witherow says 14,000; but his estimate is too low. His account of this battle is very confused. In one place (p. 271) he states the castle was taken by Ruvigny just after he had led his men to the attack; while in another place (p. 276) he states the castle was not captured till after the Irish were defeated.

manded the centre, now sent four battalions of foot right through the bog in front of the enemy. With great difficulty, they moved forward, under a terrific fire, sinking deep in the mud at every step. But, at last, they gained the firm ground, and charged the Irish, who, at once, gave way. Pursuing too far, they were repulsed and driven back into the bog. Rallied by Talmash, they returned to the attack, and killed many of those who pursued them.

Meanwhile the Derry and Enniskillen regiments with Ruvigny and the Huguenot cavalry had crossed a narrow path on the Irish left. Saint Ruth at this time felt so confident of victory that he did not seriously oppose them when crossing. "The more they are," said he, "the more we shall kill." But the Ulster regiments having got over, sheltered themselves behind walls where they repelled a furious attack. The Huguenot cavalry charged the Irish and drove them back with such bravery that even Saint Ruth uttered an exclamation of delight. He was giving orders to make this point the chief object of attack when his head was carried off by a cannon ball.

The jealousy between the Irish and French officers prevented Sarsfield, who commanded the reserve, from knowing the plans of Saint Ruth. He had been told not to move without orders, and, as no orders came, he remained inactive. The English centre pressed on once more. The Irish, now attacked in front and on both flanks, gave way in confusion. The defeat became a route, and the slaughter was great. They lost about 7,000 men, whose bodies, stripped by their own countrymen, and left unburied, seemed like flocks of sheep over the hills around. The English lost about 1,700 killed and wounded.

Ginkell then marched to Galway, which surrendered in a few days. The garrison were permitted to proceed in arms to Limerick which was the only place of importance now possessed by the enemy. Ginkell marched thither with rapidity, but he determined to act with great caution as the garrison were more numerous than his own army. Tyrconnel died suddenly on the 14th of August, and it was reported that he was poisoned, but the report was false.

Limerick stands on an island in the Shannon, which, below the town, becomes wide and deep. A fleet was brought up to cut off supplies by water. The Munster suburb was invested, some of the outworks taken, and the whole town bombarded with great fury for a week. At nine o'clock in the evening of the 15th of September, General Talmash, with a strong detachment, marched two miles up the Shannon and crossed by tin boats and a pontoon-bridge, without encountering much resistance from the surprised enemy, and he fortified a position on the west bank of the Shannon. On the 22nd, Ginkell himself with the greater part of his army, crossed the river, and after a severe conflict captured the forts by which Thormond Bridge was defended. The Irish retreated towards the town, but a French officer in charge of the drawbridge pulled it up too soon, and 600 of the fugitives were either drowned in the river or slain by the English. Ginkell established himself within ten yards of Thormond

Gate, completely investing the city, and separating the cavalry without from the infantry within. D'Usson and Sarsfield, finding that further resistance would be useless determined to surrender. A truce was agreed upon, and officers of the rival armies began to visit each other and to dine together. It was on one of these occasions that an Irish officer made use of the often quoted expression, "Change Kings and we will fight it over again."

After a good deal of negotiation, the terms were arranged. There were both military and civil articles of surrender, and the treaty was not formally concluded till after the arrival of the Lords Justices from Dublin, whom the Irish wished to sign the civil treaty on behalf of the English Government. By the military articles, Limerick and all the forts and castles held for James in Ireland were to be surrendered; but soldiers in the Irish Army were to have permission to leave the kingdom if they desired. By the civil articles, Roman Catholics were to have the same religious privileges which they enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second. They were to be permitted to follow their trades and professions, were to receive pardon for all offences committed in the reign of James, and to be free from all oaths, except the oath of allegiance. This treaty was signed on the 3rd of October, at the well known "Treaty Stone," on the Clare side of the Shannon. It was generally supposed by Protestants that the Roman Catholics were promised too much. And, in after years, under Tory-Episcopal ascendancy, the treaty was most shamefully violated.

William was pleased to obtain peace at any price, that he might be free to prosecute the war against France with all his forces. Besides, he did not object to the fact that Catholics had obtained privileges, as he was averse to religious disabilities, and declared that, although he had come to deliver Protestants, he had not come to persecute Papists. Lewis was displeased with the treaty, as it left William free. But the Irish soldiers being permitted to leave the country, he obtained the services of about 10,000 men, who were afterwards known in history as the Irish Brigade.

The war was now over. With another king and another faith the Irish might have preserved their liberties. But this was not to be. The stronger race were again victorious. And, strange to say, the Presbyterians of Ulster—the men who had borne the brunt of the battle, and whose matchless valour had gained the victory—were soon doomed to bear persecution along with the unfortunate Kelts whom they had conquered. One hundred thousand of the inhabitants had perished. They had either fallen on the field of battle, or had been murdered by soldiers, or cut off by sickness. The crops had been destroyed, the cattle taken from their rightful owners, the towns burned, and many of the people turned naked out of their houses, or murdered if they resisted. But there was no organized system of murder as in 1641. The Irish authorities, with the exception of Galmoy, Rosen, and one or two others, respected the non-combatants, and tried to protect them, whether Protestants or Catholics.

The Irish Presbyterian Church had, in 1688, five presbyteries, above eighty ministers, eleven probationers, and about one hundred congregations. In the northern counties, Bishop Leslie calculated that Presbyterians were then fifty to one of the Episcopalians; but, since that time two hundred years of persecution, while not exterminating Presbyterians, has rendered the Prelatists more numerous in proportion. After Schomberg's arrival, in 1689, Presbyteries began to meet as usual, but as many ministers were still in Scotland, there was difficulty in procuring supplies for the vacant charges. Several houses of worship had been destroyed, and the people suffered greatly from the ravages of war.

CHAPTER XXII.

UNDER WILLIAM THE THIRD.

TWO days after the Battle of the Boyne, a number of ministers met in Belfast, and determined to commence holding meetings of Synod, which, after 1661, had been discontinued. The first was held on the 26th of September, 1690, in Belfast, and another met in the same place, on the 8th of the next April. But the minutes of both meetings have been lost. On the 30th of September, 1691, a Synod was held at Antrim, where thirty two ministers and twenty one elders were present. This meeting was chiefly employed in making arrangements regarding the settling of vacant congregations, several of which had requested the Court to influence their pastors then in Scotland, to return. These efforts were in some cases successful; but more than twenty ministers, formerly placed in Ireland, remained in Scotland. The inducements offered by Irish congregations were small. Carland could promise the Rev. Thomas Kennedy only nineteen pounds a-year of stipend, a gratuity of five pounds to assist in building a dwelling-house, and to "plow and sow ten acres of land." But they hoped for a speedy increase, as not more than a tenth part of the land was "planted." Cookstown could offer the Rev. John Mackenzie only "fourteen pound in money, with a farm to the value of eight or nine pound, yearly maintenance." But then there was the Royal Bounty in addition, which, for the first year or two, must have given each minister about twenty pounds per annum.* The congregations which failed to obtain pastors, received occasional services from the nearest ministers; and, on occasions when no supply could be obtained,

* I believe this estimate is correct, although higher than what is generally given.

the people preferred to worship God in their homes, rather than to attend an Episcopal service.

But, notwithstanding all difficulties, the work of re-organizing congregations went on with rapidity. King William, desiring to favour those who professed the faith in which he was himself educated, endeavoured to save them from the penalties attached to persecuting laws he was powerless to repeal. But the settlement of ministers was, notwithstanding, often attended with difficulty. In March, 1692, Mr. William Ambrose, a probationer, preached in the vacant congregation of Hillsborough. The Episcopal minister of this parish was the Rev. Lemuel Matthews, who was archdeacon and chancellor of the diocese of Down, prebendary of Cairncastle, and incumbent of nine parishes, in none of which had he resided for above twenty years. In some of them, he had only nominal curates, to answer at visitations, and, in others, "curates that were altogether insufficient and unfit." But Mr. Matthews was greatly exasperated because anyone should venture to instruct the people whom he neglected himself. And on his information, Mr. Ambrose was committed to prison, where he was kept till an order for his liberation was obtained from the Lords Justices.

The English Parliament, which met towards the end of 1691, enacted that no person could sit in the Irish Parliament, or hold any Irish office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, or practice law or medicine in Ireland, until he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and had subscribed the declaration against Transubstantiation. This Act—contrary to the treaty of Limerick—was only one of the many persecuting laws by which Irish Roman Catholics were afterwards oppressed, but Presbyterians were not now asked to make any declaration to which they could object. They were, therefore, eligible for public offices in Ireland, although a minister was liable to three months' imprisonment in the common jail for delivering a sermon, and to a fine of a hundred pounds for celebrating the Lord's Supper. In England, an Act of toleration protected them in their worship, while by the Test Act they were excluded from office.

Although William often tried to persuade the Irish Parliament to pass an Act permitting Dissenters to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, his influence failed to overcome the power of the bishops who controlled the House of Lords. These efforts were always met by attempts to impose a Test Act, rendering it necessary for all who held places of power or profit under the government to partake of the Lord's Supper in the Episcopal Church. The bishops got the Lord's Committee on religion, of the Irish Parliament which met in 1692, to pass a resolution declaring that there should be no toleration of Dissenters unless all public officials were compelled to communicate three times a year in their parish churches, and that severe penalties ought to be inflicted on any Dissenting minister who ventured to preach against the Episcopal Church.

But at least one liberal measure was passed by this Parliament. Many French Protestants had settled in Ireland after 1685, when

the Edict of Nantes was revoked. Refusing, as Presbyterians, to use the Episcopal liturgy, they had to endure religious persecution from the Protestants to whom they had fled for refuge from a similar persecution at home. But, in 1692, an Act was passed by the Irish Parliament giving permission to foreign Protestants to employ in their worship "the rites used in their own churches."

Dr. William King, born of Presbyterian parents in 1650, and induced to become a renegade as he passed through Trinity College, was now Bishop of Derry, and he regarded the church of his fathers with all the animosity of an apostate. About the end of 1693, he published an attack on Presbyterians, entitled, "A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God." In this production, he accused Presbyterians of being badly instructed in Christian principles, of failing to attend public worship with regularity, of neglecting to read the Scriptures in their meetings, and of celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at only very distant intervals.

To this pamphlet, replies were published by the Rev. Joseph Boyse, of Dublin, and the Rev. Robert Craghead, of Londonderry. The style of Mr. Boyse was better than Mr. Craghead's, but both writers proved plainly that the most important of the Bishop's charges were false. They showed clearly that Presbyterians read the Scriptures and were well instructed in their principles; and that if the Lord's Supper was celebrated but seldom, the reason was fear of persecution from the denomination to which the Bishop himself belonged.

This controversy continued for several years and called forth nine publications. It had the effect of making Presbyterians more firm in their faith, and of causing them to guard against falling into the faults with which they had been accused by the Bishop. But, on the other hand, it rendered the King more bitter against every member of the denomination to which belonged those who defeated him in argument.

About this time the Government determined to make enquiry regarding grave scandals which existed in the Irish Episcopal Church. Dr. Thomas Hackett, Bishop of Down and Connor, had not been within the bounds of his charge for twenty years, and his clergy had, meanwhile, done what was right in their own eyes. An Ecclesiastical Commission from the Crown, consisting of Bishops Dopping, Wiseman and King, was appointed to deal with these evils. The Commission met in February, 1694, and they deprived Dr. Hackett of his sees for selling livings, giving false certificates, and many other crimes. Our old friend, the Rev. Lemuel Matthews, who had procured the imprisonment of Mr. Ambrose for holding a service without using the prayer book, was suspended from his offices by this Commission on account of numerous offences. The Dean of Connor was deposed for adultery. The Rev. Wm. Milne, of Kilroot, one of the few Presbyterian ministers who had conformed, was convicted of incontinency and intemperance, and was deprived of his prebend,* but, on account of his age, he obtained a pension of twenty

*His successor was Jonathan Swift.

pounds a year during life. The Commissioners admitted that, if they had given ear to what the clergy said about one another, they must have suspended one half of them; but they terrified all, although they punished only a few.

The Rev. Patrick Adair, of Belfast, died in 1694, after a long and honourable ministry. He left behind him a manuscript history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, which, in 1866 was published by Dr. Killen. But it is stated by the Rev. Classon Porter, that in several hundred instances, the printed edition differs from the manuscript.

As the Royal Bounty was not paid in 1694, the trustees petitioned the Lords Justices early next year to have the arrears cleared off and greater punctuality observed in future payments. Mr. Duncombe and Sir Cyril Wyche were for withdrawing the grant altogether, but Lord Capel wrote to London strongly urging its continuance. His representations were successful. The arrears were discharged and the bounty continued. In all probability King William had not known that the payments were stopped until the fact brought under his notice.

Several circumstances prevented Presbyterians from obtaining Parliamentary influence sufficient to save them from persecution. The aristocracy, at the restoration, went over to Prelacy, which they had sworn to extirpate. By that aristocracy, both Houses of the Irish Parliament were completely controlled. The House of Lords belonged to them altogether, and they returned most of those supposed to represent the people in the Commons. The county members were elected by the freeholders; and freeholders were manufactured by the landlords to suit their own purposes.

There were then no large cities by which the power of the Episcopal oligarchy might be restrained. Dublin, with a population of thirty thousand, was by far the largest place in the kingdom. There was not a single town in Ulster with a population of five thousand. Yet villages like Augher, Charlemont, and St. Johnston returned each two members. In these places the landlords were as supreme as in their own castles. A burgess, on his election, had often to swear that he would obey all the proprietor's commands; and boroughs could be bought or sold like any other commodity. Even in the large towns the people had no right to elect their representatives. The Mayor or "Sovereign" and burgesses returned the members; but when a burgess died or resigned, his successor was elected by the other burgesses. And thus there was no real representation of the people in Ireland.

Besides all this, Presbyterians were confined to the Province of Ulster, while Episcopalians were scattered over the country, and the fact that Presbyterians constituted almost the entire population in parts of the North, was of no avail in the South, where they were a small minority of the Protestants. Accordingly, Presbyterians having no political power, had to submit to political persecution. But they had also to endure a social persecution. The feudal system which transferred the ownership of the soil from the tribe to the landlord

was one of the many evils introduced by the power of England. The Presbyterian farmer was a serf who had to submit to the will of his landlord, and in elections, when he had a vote, to support the enemies of his country, his class, and his creed.

The idea of passing a Toleration Bill for Ireland, was strongly favoured by Capel, who was now Lord Lieutenant. The Rev. Joseph Boyse, of Dublin, had previously published a pamphlet, entitled—"The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, in reference to a Bill of Indulgence, represented and argued." In this pamphlet he proved that such a Bill, reasonable in itself, was necessary for the common Protestant interest. Replies were published by two of the Bishops. Dr. Tobias Pullen argued that toleration would multiply sects, encourage the Romanists and prevent Episcopalians having it "in their power to show their tenderness to their dissenting brethren." Dr. Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, thought no toleration ought to be granted to Presbyterians unless accompanied by a Sacramental Test, by which they would be excluded from public offices.

In 1695 a new Parliament was summoned. Soon after it met, the Earl of Drogheda brought before the House of Lords a Bill for "ease to Dissenters." But of forty-three Peers who were present, twenty-one were bishops, and a resolution postponing the consideration of the Bill was carried without difficulty. The same measure of relief was proposed in the Commons, but was so strongly opposed that the Government were unable to carry it through. Lord Capel, the firm friend of toleration, died in 1696, and during several years Ireland was governed by Lords Justices. For a considerable period the leading spirit among these was Henri de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, a French Protestant, who sympathized with Presbyterians in their struggles for freedom.

On the 15th July, 1696, a union was formed between the Presbyterian and Independent Congregations of Munster and Leinster.* From this union arose the Presbytery of Munster; and that Presbytery joined with some ministers in or near Dublin constituted the Southern Association. These Dublin ministers formed a kind of semi-independent Presbytery, which sometimes sent corresponding members to the Synod of Ulster, and was afterwards known as the Southern Presbytery of Dublin. But other ministers of that city were actual members of Synod, and were, about 30 years afterwards, formed into a Presbytery. Besides, all the Presbyterians pastors of the city met together for mutual edification, and formed a kind of consultative church court.

The Government, conscious of their weakness, made no attempt to pass a Toleration Bill in the Parliament of 1697, but they succeeded in obtaining an Act by which legal protection was continued and

*Campbell's M.S.—This fact has escaped the notice of Reid, Withrow, Irwin, and all who have published anything on the history of our church.

extended to foreign Protestants, and provision made for carrying out a promise of the King to give salaries to their ministers.

Under the enlightened government of William, the Presbyterian Church made progress, notwithstanding the frowns of laudlords and the rage of prelates. Many thousands of Presbyterians came to Ireland between the years of 1690 and 1698 to occupy farms laid waste by the ravages of war. New congregations were established, and old congregations became large. In the neighbourhood of Derry there were few ministers but had 1,000 "examinable" persons, while many Episcopal clergymen in the same district would not have more than a dozen to attend their services. Even now, after two hundred years of persecution, Presbyterians in these districts form a large majority of the Protestant population.

Almost all the first clergymen of our church came from Scotland. Afterwards when some young Ulstermen began to study for the ministry, the want of a college in Ireland was greatly felt. The Rev. James M'Alpine established an Academy at Killyleagh for training students in literature and philosophy, but fearing persecution he did not venture to teach systematic theology. This school closed in 1714, when Mr. M'Alpine became minister of Ballynahinch.

But the majority of Irish Presbyterian students were educated in the Scotch universities. The Rev. Robert Gordon, minister of Rathfriland from 1711 till 1762, left behind him a diary in which his student life is recorded. In 1704, he studied theology in Edinburgh. The room in which he slept cost him fourteen pence weekly. Public worship was held in winter twice each Sabbath, and in summer there were services at eight o'clock, at ten o'clock and in the afternoon. There was also public worship on the Wednesday. In some years, upwards of forty Irish students matriculated in Glasgow, and of these a very large proportion must have been for the ministry of the Irish Presbyterian Church.

In 1697, the congregations were placed under the care of seven* presbyteries, which were divided into two sub-synods; and all formed one general synod. Doubtless many more congregations would have been necessary, considering that there was an Episcopal church in every parish, which brought almost all Episcopalians within a reasonable distance from their places of worship, while Presbyterians had often to pass one or two parish churches before reaching their own. To provide a remedy for this evil was difficult.

* In Killen's Reid (vol. II, p. 205, note) it is stated that the "five meetings or presbyteries" into which the general presbytery had been divided about 1657 "continued without any change until the year 1702, when nine presbyteries were formed." But we are told afterwards in the same volume, p. 469, that a sixth presbytery was formed in 1697, and that the arrangement of six presbyteries continued "during the remainder of King William's reign." These statements are incorrect and contradictory. The congregations were, in 1697, placed under the care of seven presbyteries and there was another arrangement made before the death of King William."

As congregations increased, each minister's share of Royal Bounty gradually diminished. There was, therefore, a tendency to oppose the erection of new pastoral charges. Besides, the amount of this bounty was so small that congregations could not be formed till the people had promised to provide the greater part of their minister's maintenance. To raise so large a sum was often beyond the power of societies who wished to be organized as congregations. Then, in the case of settled pastors, there was often great difficulty in obtaining the stipend promised, and various systems were adopted to enforce punctuality. Sometimes a few of the more wealthy members signed bonds to secure a specified yearly sum. Rents were often placed on the pews, and church privileges withheld from those who were in arrears. Stipends were collected on "fast days" preceding the communions, and tokens of admission refused to parties not making a satisfactory settlement. It is stated that, in at least one congregation, the elders took their seats at the door of the church on a communion Sunday, and collected stipend from the people as they entered.

But the payment of money was not in itself sufficient to give a right to participate in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. An exceedingly strict discipline was maintained, and those who led immoral lives were excluded from sealing ordinances till they professed their repentance in due form. The strictness of this discipline, and the means taken to enforce the payment of stipend, often caused both the poor and the ungodly to go over to Prelacy, where they could obtain ordinances without either payment or character. The Presbyterian Church, having already lost the aristocracy on account of their wealth, began to lose the labourers on account of their poverty. The one class was too rich and the other too poor to remain Presbyterians. But in cases of discipline the poor were more ready to submit to the rules of their church than the rich. If one of the aristocracy was condemned to censure, he almost invariably turned Prelatist. Cast out of the one church as a criminal he was gladly received by the other as a convert.

But, notwithstanding all difficulties, the Presbyterian Church made progress in the reign of William. Congregations were established, meeting-houses were built and ministers ordained. The Royal Bounty was a means of not only assisting to maintain the ministers, but it was used as a general fund under control of the Synod for miscellaneous purposes. In 1697, it was enacted by the Synod: "That the Quarter of R.D. in which a minister dies, together with the Quarter thereafter, shall go to his Relict or Children, if he has left either." Four years afterwards a regulation was made that, where a minister had an assistant, both should receive a portion of the bounty. Sometimes ministers in weak congregations were ordered a double portion, and even gratuities were voted to persons from the same fund for services conferred. But the Synod acted with discrimination in making these grants. For example, they declined to give part of the Royal Bounty to a widow on account of "her son being abroad and living at a great

charge." In 1703, the agent was ordered to keep a quarter of the bounty in his own hands for "public uses." This amount seems to have met these miscellaneous charges for several years.

The Rev. John M'Bride, of Belfast, outgoing moderator, opened the Synod of 1698 by a sermon, in which he asserted that, although the call of the civil magistrate was necessary for the "well-being," it was not necessary for the "being" of their meetings. This sermon was published without Mr. M'Bride's authority. Its title stated that it had been preached before the "Provincial Synod" by Mr. John M'Bride, "minister of Belfast." A copy of this publication was forwarded by Dr. Walkington, Bishop of Down and Connor, to the Lords Justices, with a complaint against the doctrines it contained, and against the assumption by a Dissenter of the title, "Minister of Belfast." Mr. M'Bride was summoned to Dublin, and the bishops used all their power to have the case investigated by the Privy-Council where their own influence was supreme, but, fortunately, the Lords Justices determined to hear the charges themselves. Even then, the bishops did not relax their efforts. Six of them were present at the investigation, in order to secure a conviction. Mr. M'Bride confessed preaching the sermon, but denied all responsibility for getting it printed, or for the obnoxious expression on the title page. Accordingly, the Lords Justices permitted him to depart in peace, admonishing him to "carry rectably" towards the Established Church, and the bishops to "carry moderately" towards the Non-conformists.

A short time previously, the Rev. William Biggar, of Limerick, had begun to supply ordinances to the Presbyterians of Galway, with the idea of establishing a congregation. This was an unspeakable crime in the eyes of the Episcopal magistrates who ruled the Ancient City of the Tribes; and Mr. Biggar was placed in prison. But, by advice of Dr. Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, he was liberated. The case was then brought before the Lords Justices by the Mayor and Corporation, who presented a memorial, praying that the Presbyterians should be prohibited from organizing a dissenting congregation in Galway. Mr. Biggar was then brought to Dublin, and examined by the Lords Justices themselves. But they found no cause for complaint against his conduct, as he had confined himself to preaching the Gospel. They directed, however, that, for the present, Presbyterian services should not be held in Galway. Some members of the Synod succeeded in getting the whole matter brought before the King, and his answer must have been favourable, as, ere long, a Presbyterian clergyman was ordained in that city.

Although William earnestly desired to prevent persecution, it was impossible for Non-conformist ministers to perform the functions of their office with safety to either themselves or their people. Presbyterian marriages were admitted to be valid by the Civil Courts, yet Presbyterians who were married by their own ministers had often to confess themselves guilty of fornication in their respective parish churches, or else to pay a heavy fine to escape penance for a contract which the Civil Courts admitted to be perfectly

valid. Presbyterians were compelled to serve as church-wardens, and were often prevented from having schoolmasters of their own faith to teach their children. The chief instigators of their persecutions were the Episcopal clergy, who, being almost all Jacobites, hated Presbyterians with a political as well as a religious animosity. It is said, however, that there was *one* among the Established clergy of the North who was not a Jacobite. Dr. Campbell states that he was acquainted with his son, who was proud of the honourable principles of his father, which he inherited."

Attempts were often made to prevent Presbyterians from obtaining sites for their churches, or places of residences for their ministers; and there was often a clause inserted in leases of church or college lands with that special object. Even the lay landlords often made similar refusals, and, in such cases, Presbyterians had sometimes to build their churches on "commonable" land, which then existed at almost every town or village.

At Cookstown the Presbyterian Church stood on a site of which part had been obtained from a farmer who had enclosed it off a common without permission, and part was on the common itself. The building, therefore, stood on ground to which there was no private claim. But in 1701, the Rev. John Richardson, rector of the parish, having obtained the farm from which part of the site had been taken, immediately closed up the doors of the church, although Mr. Stewart, the landlord, was quite convinced that it stood altogether on the common. The congregation knowing it would be useless to go to law with an Episcopal clergyman, determined to not dispute his claim. But they carried away the materials of their meeting-house to erect it in another place. For this offence, the rector had them prosecuted as rioters. It happened, however, that Mrs. Stewart of Killymoon was a decided Presbyterian, and she had a church erected in the demesne. It was built, it is said, in three weeks, and in this building the congregation worshipped for upwards of sixty years.

A kind of parochial system existed then in the Irish Presbyterian Church. The boundaries between congregations were strictly defined. When a new charge was "erected," or when a dispute about "mearings" arose between existing charges, parties were appointed to "perambulate" the district and to arrange the boundaries. Members who resided within the limits of one congregation could not join another without permission from an ecclesiastical court. It stands on record in the minutes of Synod that, in 1701, James Smith and Patrick Allen requested liberty to leave Donegore, from which they were nearly four miles distant, and to join Ballyeaston, from which they resided about one mile. But Donegore opposed the application and the request was refused. The same year, parties who resided at a place called Ballynadio, and who, after "perambulation of their bounds" had been removed from Killead to Glenavy, made request to be re-annexed to Killead. But this request was unanimously refused.

When a placed minister received a call from another con-

gregation, or when a licentiate obtained a plurality of calls, the church-courts decided which congregation was to have his services. In 1697, it was reported to the Synod that the Rev. Francis Iredell had disobeyed an "Act of Transportation from Dunnagore to Ard-magh." And, although he stated that the proposed change would be "most Gravanimous and crushing to him, both in Body and Spirit," he was publicly rebuked by the Synod for his disobedience, and he narrowly escaped suspension.

Presbyteries twice a year, and Sessions once a year, held what was called "fraternal censures." One by one the members were excluded, and the conduct of the excluded person considered. On being re-admitted, he received the judgment of the court. In like manner, Presbyteries were compelled to retire from the Synod and their conduct considered. On one occasion, the Presbytery of Antrim were censured for reflecting on a previous decision of the Superior Court, and were ordered to behave themselves in future with "more modesty and Christian charity."

Even the dress of clergymen was then regulated by Synodical authority. In 1700, the Synod passed an overture to the effect that some ministers, their wives, and children were too gaudy and vain in their apparel, and Presbyteries were ordered to reform these faults, to direct ministers to study decency in their clothing and wigs; to avoid powderings, vain cravats, and half shirts; and to refrain from sumptuous dinners at ordinations and on Mondays after communions. On another occasion, the Synod enjoined ministers to refrain from going to public-houses during any sederunt; and they were prohibited from attending stage plays under pain of censure.

Sometimes Synods consented to perform a function now much better performed by newspapers, as the following extract from the minutes will prove:—"According to the earnest Desire of Alexander Small, in the Parish of Finvoy, this Synod recommend to their respective Brethren to inquire carefully in their sevel parishes for Jane M'Gee, a Girll about 11 or 12 years of age, who, coming lately from Scotland, landed safely some Place in the County of Antrim, but cannot now be heard of, & in Case any hear of her to give Notice to Allan Dunlop, in Ballymony, who will send her to the above Alexr. Small, who is married to her Mother, Mary Dickie."

At this period such vast crowds attended the celebration of the Lord's Supper that the churches failed to contain the congregations. While one minister preached within, two, or perhaps three addressed different audiences outside. On Sunday, 2nd July, 1704, Mr. Robert Gordon, then a student, was at the administration of the Lord's Supper in Killileagh, the congregation of the Rev. James Bruce. The services began at seven o'clock in the morning, and, with a short intermission, continued the whole day. Next Sabbath Mr. Gordon was at a similar gathering in Comber, where there were ten tables and a half, the services beginning at eight o'clock in the morning.


Unfortunately many of the strangers who attended these meetings were more desirous of pleasure than of profit. For their

accommodation, tents were erected and refreshments sold. But such practices were condemned by the clergy, who used great exertions to prevent the sale of intoxicating drinks. In order to keep such large crowds from assembling, an overture was brought before the Synod to prohibit ministers from having more than three assistants when dispensing the Lord's Supper. The trouble and expense connected with these celebrations were sometimes very great. It is recorded that, in 1694, a person went the whole way from Burt to Belfast to procure communion wine; wheat was bought, ground, and baked. The total expense was £6 7s 10d, which represented a sum four or five times as large as at present.

In March 1702, Presbyterians lost a friend and protector by the death of King William. This great monarch had always done his best to save them from persecution; but he was surrounded by an aristocracy who hated both himself and his principles; and it was with difficulty he retained by favour the crown he won by the sword.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE THIRD PERSECUTION.

ILLIAM was succeeded by Anne, daughter of James. She was at heart a Tory and a Jacobite. From her, Presbyterians had much to fear and little to expect. But the power of the Whigs during a great part of this reign, saved Dissenters from much they might have suffered had Tories been in office.

The congregations of the Irish Presbyterian Church, which now numbered nearly 120, were, in 1702, re-arranged, and placed under the nine Presbyteries of Belfast, Down, Antrim, Coleraine, Armagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, Derry, and Convoy; the three sub-synods of Belfast, Monaghan, and Lagan; and one general Synod, which held a yearly meeting in June. Students for the ministry were required to study divinity four sessions after completing their course of philosophy; and, in accordance with a law passed in 1698, they had to sign the Westminster Confession of Faith when licensed.

The Rev. Thomas Emlyn, one of the ministers of Wood Street, Dublin, by reading Dr. Sherlock's *Vindication* of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, was led to adopt the very error which that book was written to refute. For a long time he concealed his opinions. But Dr. Duncan Cumyng, a member of his church, who had been himself educated for the ministry, began to suspect Mr. Emlyn's opinions, and communicated his suspicions to the Rev.

Joseph Boyse, the other minister of Wood Street. Mr. Emlyn, when accused of holding Arian opinions, admitted the charge, and offered to resign his pastorate. But Mr. Boyse brought the matter before an association of Dublin Presbyterian clergymen, consisting of both the Southern and Northern ministers, which, exercising the power of a Presbytery, deposed the accused from his office.

Mr. Emlyn now published a "Short Account" of his case; and afterwards "An Humble Inquiry into the Scripture account of Jesus Christ," in which he brought forward the usual arguments advanced by Unitarians. To the latter publication Mr. Boyse replied in "A Vindication of the True Deity of our Blessed Saviour." When Emlyn's "Humble Inquiry" was published, a Baptist, named Caleb Thomas, got the Lord Chief Justice to issue a warrant for the apprehension of the author, who was then arrested and tried for writing and publishing a blasphemous book. But no evidence of authorship could be obtained. The Chief Justice, however, told the jury that "presumption" was as good as evidence, and drew their attention to the fact that a number of bishops were present. This warning produced its effect, and Emlyn was found guilty. He was sentenced to undergo a year's imprisonment, to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, to be kept in jail till it was paid, and to find security for good behaviour during life. A paper, indicating his crime and sentence, was attached to his breast, and then he was led round the Four Courts to receive the insults of an ignorant multitude. Being unable to discharge the fine, he lay two years in jail. At last, Mr. Boyse succeeded, through the Duke of Ormond, in getting him released, on paying seventy pounds to the Exchequer, twenty pounds to the Archbishop of Armagh as Queen's almoner, and giving security for good behaviour during the rest of his life.

The fears excited by Emlyn's opinions extended over the whole church. The Presbytery of Munster, who, as Campbell asserts, were as orthodox as the Synod of Ulster, at a meeting held in Cork on the 16th of September, 1702, unanimously declared their "abhorrence of the said errors and heresies of the said Thomas Emlyn." The Synod of Ulster, at their meeting in 1705, unanimously resolved that candidates for the ministry, on being licensed, must subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith, and that any licentiate who had not already subscribed, should be obliged to comply with the rule before being ordained.

The English Parliament, in 1703, extended to Ireland the provisions of a previously existing law, by which all persons in civil, military, or ecclesiastical offices were required to take the Oath of Abjuration, declaring that the son of King James had no right to the crown. Only six Irish Presbyterian ministers refused to make this declaration. These *non-jurors* considered that the oath was so worded as to bind them to declare that the Pretender was not the son of King James. Accordingly, they refused to swear, although as Whigs they were all opposed to the claims of the Stuarts. Among these Presbyterian non-jurors the Rev. John M'Bride, of

Belfast, was particularly obnoxious to the prelatie party. Several attempts to obtain his arrest having failed, at last one of those clerical magistrates, who were so particularly zealous as persecutors, issued a warrant for his apprehension; and the accused had to fly from the country, although Lord Donegall offered to secure him to the value of his estate. An officer who went to arrest him was so angry to find he had escaped, that, in his wrath, he ran his sword through an oil-painting of Mr. M'Bride, which is still preserved.*

After the accession of Anne, the grant of Royal bounty had been renewed, and its payment was continued, although the Irish House of Commons resolved, in October, 1703, that this "pension" was an unnecessary branch of the fiscal establishment. But a proposition involving greater danger and more disastrous consequences soon came before the Parliament in Dublin. In direct violation of the Treaty of Limerick, a Bill was introduced "to prevent the further growth of Popery." This Bill contained many clauses directed specially against Roman Catholics, and, with the approval of the Queen, another clause was introduced, by the authorities in England, to the effect that all public officers in Ireland must take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Episcopal Church. Presbyterians seemed confounded, and made but little resistance. Few of them had seats in Parliament, and these few were powerless to prevent the Bill passing. The Roman Catholics were heard by counsel. Their advocate in his speech upbraided the Government for now proposing to inflict pains and penalties on Presbyterians—the very men who had saved Ireland. But all was in vain. The Bill passed, and, on the 4th of March, 1704, received the Royal assent. Presbyterians were excluded from the magistracy, customs, excise, post office, courts of law, and municipal offices. Throughout Ireland, the Presbyterian magistrate was deprived of his position of power, and the Presbyterian postmaster of his means of support. As a reward for their services, Presbyterians were declared incapable of filling the most humble office under that Episcopal Government for which they preserved Derry to Ireland and Ireland to Great Britain.

In Londonderry, ten aldermen and fourteen burgesses—about two-thirds of the entire Corporation—preferred their Presbyterian faith to their official position. In Belfast, the Sovereign and a majority of the twelve burgesses were Presbyterians; and for some time the minority of the Corporation did not attempt to exclude them. But on the 7th of August, 1707, the death of Mr. William Cairns caused

* Dr. Witherow is astray in stating that Mr. Clugston, *Sovereign of Belfast*, tried to arrest Mr. M'Bride, as it was many years afterwards before Mr. Clugston attained to that position.

It is said there was a Sovereign of Belfast who once met with an amusing mishap in Mr. M'Bride's church. Sitting in the front seat of the gallery, he pulled out his handkerchief so quickly that a pack of cards in the same pocket were scattered over the pews below. Mr. M'Bride, looking calmly down said, "Heigh, sir, but your psalm-book is badly bound."

a vacancy in the Parliamentary representation of the borough. In the contest which followed, only four burgesses took part, as the Presbyterian members of the Corporation did not attempt to exercise their franchise. This matter was reported to the House of Commons, and, by a majority of sixty-five to fifty-three, they declared that the office of burgess was vacated whenever its occupant did not qualify by becoming a Conformist. The Presbyterian members were now excluded from the Belfast Corporation.* Presbyterians lost their power in this and every other Parliamentary borough, and the representation of places, where they were then almost the entire population, was, by this means, transferred to a miserable minority of persecuting Prelatists.

The treacherous treatment of Presbyterians caused Daniel Defoe, author of *Robinson Crusoe*, to publish a pamphlet, entitled "The Parallel; or, Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to Prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland." The "very people," says Defoe, "who drank deepest of the Popish fury," are now "linked with those very Papists they fought against."

The Irish Presbyterian ministers, fearing that the Bounty was a salary "under a patent from the Crown," were doubtful whether they could now accept it without rendering themselves liable to penalties. But the Solicitor-General gave as his opinion to Mr. Iredell that they might take it with safety, as it did not accrue from an office of trust bestowed by the Sovereign. The Episcopal party had formerly asserted that the want of a Test Act was the only reason of their opposition to a Toleration Bill. But now when that Act was in full force, their opposition was just as strong as before.

In 1704, some Presbyterians residing at Lisburn were excommunicated by Episcopal authority for the crime of being married by ministers of their own Church. The Government, however, refused to issue the writs necessary for seizing excommunicated persons, and the offenders escaped imprisonment. Next year, a Bill was brought into the Irish Parliament containing clauses which would have rendered Presbyterian marriages illegal. But Mr. Broderick, the Speaker, managed to get these clauses struck out.

Mr. Arthur Upton, who had been a Member of Parliament for County Antrim during forty years, together with William Hamilton, Archibald Edmonstone, William Cunningham, William Cairns, David Buttle, and William Mackie now petitioned the Irish House of Commons on behalf of themselves and the rest of the "Protestant dissenting subjects of Ireland," complaining of being excluded from the service of Her Majesty and the country. But, although there was a sharp debate, no relief was proposed.

* Dr. Hamilton says—"In Belfast, of 13 burgesses, 9 were Presbyterians, and forfeited their seats." It seems, however, from the Town Book that only six were excluded for not taking the oath, and of these one was prevented from swearing by being under age.

The Judge, on a northern circuit, having heard that several Presbyterians had been summoned to give evidence in a court of their own church, denounced the custom, and charged grand juries to prosecute all concerned in holding such illegal meetings.

But notwithstanding these persecutions, and the fact that Presbyterians were compelled to pay tithes for the support of rectors whose sermons they never heard and whose doctrines they did not believe, while in addition they had to support their own clergymen, their church grew with the growth and prospered with the prosperity of the country.

In 1707, an Act of Union was carried by the Parliaments of England and Scotland, whereby these kingdoms became united. The succession to the Crown was fixed in the House of Hanover, and the rights of the Church of Scotland were supposed to be secured by provisions soon afterwards disregarded.

When the Whigs were in power, various attempts were made to repeal the Test in Ireland. The representatives of the English Government bewailed the bigotry and deplored the determination of the landlords and bishops who controlled the Parliament, but no measure of relief had a chance of passing. Even the Earl of Wharton, from whom, as Lord Lieutenant, great things had been expected, could accomplish nothing.

About this time, Presbyterians had to encounter a new enemy. The celebrated Dean Swift, who did not care a fig for religion, and who had formerly declared that he would as soon write against a flea or a louse as against Presbyterians, now published a pamphlet to prove that they were much more dangerous than Papists; that just as a bound lion, with his teeth drawn, was less dangerous than a cat at liberty, so Presbyterians, with religious freedom, were more to be dreaded than Papists, who would soon be extinct under the influence of penal laws.

But, although the Whig Government failed to pass any measure of relief for Nonconformists, they protected them from punishment under existing laws. The Presbyterians had now above a hundred and twenty congregations, scattered over a wide district. The members of Synod often experienced great toil and inconvenience riding on horseback to the place of yearly meeting. Some of them would be days on their journey, and, when they arrived, it was often so difficult to obtain proper accommodation in the town where they met, that they had to lie in barn lofts on beds of straw. It was therefore proposed that only representatives of Presbyteries should attend the Synod. But it was argued, in opposition, that ministers could not delegate their ruling powers, and that it would not be wise to introduce such a change when opinion was divided regarding its expediency.

The Synod, in 1708, determined to supply the Presbyterians of Drogheda with religious ordinances. For this purpose, nine ministers were appointed to preach there successively. The Rev. James Fleming, of Lurgan, who went first, officiated on two

Sabbaths in September.* But at the instigation of Dean Cox, the Episcopal rector, he and three of his congregation were brought before the Mayor, and bound to stand their trial at the next assizes for riot and unlawful assembly. A number of the Drogheda Presbyterians were charged with travelling on the Lord's Day, and had to pay fines to escape standing in the stocks; yet no attempt was made to enforce the same laws against Roman Catholics who went openly to mass every Sunday. Presbyterians alone were to suffer from laws passed for "preventing the growth of Popery." The Rev. William Biggar, who, ten years before, had been imprisoned for preaching in Galway, was the next minister sent to supply Drogheda. But a certificate being obtained from the Archbishop of Armagh that he was not licensed to preach in his diocese, he was arrested and committed to prison for three months by the Mayor, who refused to release him, unless the attempt to form a congregation would be abandoned. Messrs. Boyse and Iredell now petitioned the Lords Justices on behalf of Mr. Biggar, and, on account of this case, urged the necessity of passing an Act of Toleration without the Sacramental Test. Mr. Biggar was then discharged from prison, where he had been confined for six weeks, and Mr. Ramsay of Clough, who succeeded him, was not molested by the authorities. It was thought that no further proceedings would be taken against Mr. Fleming; but, at the Spring Assizes in 1709, the Grand Jury found a true bill against both him and the accused members of his congregation. At length the Earl of Wharton, the Lord Lieutenant, directed the Lords Justices to issue an order which stopped further proceedings. No attempt was afterwards made to prevent Presbyterians holding services in this place; and, before long, Mr. Hugh Henry was ordained minister of Drogheda.

A wealthy Presbyterian merchant of Magherafelt, named Hugh Rainey, died in 1708, and left part of his property to establish a school over which the Presbyterian Church was to have a controlling power. But after some time, the Irish Parliament passed an Act by which the yearly income derived from this charity was limited to £175 a year, payable for ever to the Archbishop of Armagh, who thereby became manager of the school. Thus the Presbyterians were deprived of their property; and, even so late as 1890, the Commissioners of Educational Endowments failed to restore that of which they had been so unjustly deprived until compelled by the House of Commons. In like manner, Irish Nonconformists were deprived of several similar endowments.

After Mr. M'Bride left Ireland, the Presbyterians of Belfast were, for a time, without the services of a settled minister; but towards the end of 1706, the Rev. James Kirkpatrick, M.D., author of "Presbyterian Loyalty," was installed as Mr. M'Bride's colleague.

* Dr. Reid is astray when he says Mr. Fleming officiated in August, as the *pro re nata* Synod by which he was appointed did not meet till the 8th of September.

The congregation then paid £160 of stipend, and numbered about 3,000 individuals. It was felt that this vast number was too many for a single charge, and, with the sanction of the Synod notwithstanding the opposition of some members of the congregation, they agreed to divide. A new meeting-house was built, in Rosemary Street quite close to the other. The communion plate, the palls and the mourning cloaks were to be the common property of the two congregations.* When Mr. M'Bride afterwards returned from Scotland, he retained the old meeting-house and manse, while Dr. Kirkpatrick became first minister of the second congregation.

In 1703, Queen Anne, through the influence of Dr. Calamy, granted from her private purse £800 a-year to the Presbyterian ministers of the South of Ireland. This grant was remitted from London to the Irish treasury. One-half of it was afterwards allotted to the Synod of Ulster's Fund for Widows and Orphans.†

In 1710, an overture was passed by the Synod for "promoting the Gospel through this kingdom among the Irish Papists;" and it was arranged that several ministers should preach to the natives in their own language. As an example of the strict discipline maintained by church courts over their members, I may relate that Mr. Kirkpatrick, of Ballymoney, was suspended by the Presbytery of Coleraine because he married a couple "without proclamation three several days of publick worship."

A successful attempt was now made to form a general fund to assist in the maintenance of Presbyterianism "in and about Dublin and the South of Ireland." Sir Arthur Langford and Joseph Damer gave £500 each. Dr. Duncan Cumyng and other wealthy Presbyterians subscribed so largely that the capital soon amounted to £7,670, of which no less than £6,750 was raised by the members of Wood Street congregation. This fund is now under control of the General Assembly, and has been of great service to the cause of Presbyterianism in the South.

A Tory Ministry having obtained power in 1710, the Government of Ireland was again committed to the Duke of Ormond, who appointed the Primate and the Commander of the forces to be Lords-Justices until his arrival. A lately-passed Act had given any two magistrates the power of inflicting severe penalties on parties refusing to take the Abjuration Oath, and this Act was used by many Episcopal justices of the peace to oppress the Irish Nonconformists.

Messrs. M'Bride, Riddel, and M'Cracken, three of the six Presbyterian non-jurors, had now to leave the country, although everybody knew they were more strongly attached to the Protestant

* The hiring of these funeral requisites produced about fifty pounds a-year.

† In 1709, there were about 110 ministers connected with the Synod of Ulster. Dr. Killen is somewhat wide of the mark when he estimates the number at 130 (*Ec. Hist.* II., 214).

succession than those by whom they were persecuted. Mr. M'Cracken had been actually arrested, but passing the house of the Bishop on his way to prison, he asked permission to speak to His Lordship. This being granted, he entered by the hall door, got out by the rear, and made his escape. He proceeded afterwards to London, and laid his case before the Earl of Oxford, who had been a Presbyterian. From him he received fair promises soon to be forgotten.

Towards the end of 1711, a committee of the Irish House of Lords presented an address to the Queen, stating that the "gentle usage" of Presbyterians had been repaid by the "rage and obstinacy of these men," who, it was asserted, were accustomed to exercise "great severities" on their conforming neighbours; that the Royal Bounty enabled Presbyterians to "form seminaries to the poisoning of the principles" of their youth, and to "set up synods and judicatories destructive of her Majesty's prerogative;" and that if such "fanaticism" were not checked, it would destroy the constitution "both in Church and State." The Convocation of clergy in the last meeting they were permitted to hold in Ireland, drew up another address to the Queen, in which they repeated most of the same charges. To these accusations, the Presbyterians issued a most triumphant reply, which, after being presented to the Queen and the Government, by Mr. Iredell, was published in a pamphlet entitled "The Present State of Religion in Ireland."

The Presbytery of Monaghan, after having, for three years, supplied the Presbyterians of Belturbet with ordinances, met there in December, 1712,* to arrange for forming them into a congregation. But the magistrates, moved by Episcopal ministers, had the members of Presbytery arrested and bound to appear for trial at the next Cavan Assizes, on the charge of holding an unlawful and riotous assembly. A true bill was found against them by the grand jury; but "the trial was removed to Dublin" by the Lords-Justices. Afterwards, in accordance with an arrangement made with the authorities, the Presbytery "prevailed with their people to remove their meeting-house a mile further from the town than it was before." By orders of the Lord Lieutenant, the prosecution was then stopped, and, before long, a minister was ordained in Belturbet.

The ordination of candidates for the ministry, or the erection of new congregations, was particularly obnoxious to the Prelatic persecutors of our forefathers. To escape observation from the authorities, students were licensed and ministers ordained with the greatest secrecy—often at the dead of night—and very seldom was a minister installed or ordained near the place where he was to discharge the duties of the ministry. It is related that Mr. James Frazer was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Armagh "between 11 and 12 o'clock at night," and that when he was ordained minister of Carrickfergus the services were held by the Presbytery of Belfast, in the garden of a Captain John Davies.

* Dr. Hamilton was probably led into the mistake of supposing that this took place in 1709, by Dr. Reid's statement, vol. iii., p. 35.

At this period, two circumstances tended to prevent the erection of new congregations—even in places where they were urgently required. One was the fact that each minister's share of Bounty was diminished as the number of the clergy increased; and the other was, that the amount derived from the grant was so small that existing congregations had to be kept large to enable them to make up the maintenance necessary for their ministers. For example: the people of Rathfriland complained, in 1708, that an erection at Ballyrone rendered them incapable of supporting the Gospel. Five years afterwards, the Rev. W. Ambrose, minister of a vast district embracing Lislooney, Minterburn, Glennan, and Ballymagrane, strongly opposed the erection of a new congregation at Glennan.* In 1715 it was enacted by the Synod that Presbyteries should not sanction "new erections" when unable to maintain a minister, or when such erections would destroy or disable an old congregation.

In 1710, the Rev. John Campbell, Vicar of Killead and Rector of Segoe, had challenged the whole Synod "to produce a place in Scripture where there is a command for a Presbytery without a superior to ordain a Presbyter, or to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction." The Synod thought it beneath their dignity to answer that challenge; but the Rev. Thomas Gowan and other ministers sent Mr. Campbell private letters refuting his arguments. To these communications he published a reply, and Mr. Gowan continued the controversy in a pamphlet entitled "The Power of Presbyters in Ordination and Church Government without a Superior, asserted and proved from Holy Scripture." This pamphlet contained the private letters which had been sent to Mr. Campbell, and an additional reply by Mr. Gowan himself, which proved plainly that his opponent had no Scriptural ground for his conclusions.†

* Mr. Patrick Plunket was, in 1714, ordained minister of Glennan; and it is stated that he could speak Irish. His son, Thomas Plunket, became minister, first of Enniskillen, and afterwards of Strand Street, Dublin. When a licentiate, he preached in Aughnacloy; and it stands recorded in the Session Book that he was paid seven shillings and seven pence a Sunday for his services. On more than one occasion he received a "dram," value for fourpence, at the expense of the committee. He was rejected by a congregation in Co. Donegal, for the crime of bathing in the sea one Sabbath day. The Rev. Thomas Plunket's son became Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and was created Baron Plunket. The grandson of the first Baron Plunket is the present Archbishop of Dublin. Dr. Killen is therefore astray when (Hist. of Congregations, page 141) he makes the Rev. Thomas Plunket *grandfather* of the Archbishop.

When Glennan was erected, Mr. Alexander Pringle was permitted to remain with Mr. Ambrose. The Pringle family are still faithful Presbyterians.

† Dr. Reid is astray (vol. III., p. 8) in thinking Campbell did not reply, as he published, in 1712, a work in which he admitted that the Apostolic Bishop presided over a single congregation.

The Rev. Dr. Tisdall, Vicar of Belfast, had published, in 1709, a pamphlet entitled "A Sample of True-blue Presbyterian Loyalty," in which he argued that the Test Act ought to be maintained, because Presbyterians were a race of rebels. Other pamphlets of his followed, and, for years, this messenger of peace and good-will on earth continued to send forth productions advocating the same measures of persecution. In reply to attacks of this kind, the Rev. John M'Bride published anonymously, in 1713, "A Sample of Jet-black Prelatic Calumny." Shortly afterwards, the Rev. James Kirkpatrick, M.D., gave to the public another reply, entitled "An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland." It was printed in Belfast; but, as such a publication might have brought serious punishment on all concerned, the name of neither author nor printer was mentioned. This work preserves many valuable historical facts, and gives us a clear idea of the political position of Presbyterians during the reign of Queen Anne.

In 1713, the Rev. Alexander M'Cracken, of Lisburn, one of the Presbyterian non-jurors, was arrested, without a warrant, by Mr. Westerna Waring, High Sheriff of Down, who was then sunk in debt, and was afterwards expelled from the Irish House of Commons. Mr. M'Cracken was fined in five hundred pounds and condemned to six months' imprisonment. This imprisonment he suffered, but his sufferings were not supposed to expiate his crime. Being still under the obligation of taking the Oath, he again refused, and, consequently, was kept in jail until George I. was nearly two years on the throne. All this time Roman Catholic priests were not molested for refusing to swear the same oath. But they were Jacobites, and Presbyterians were loyal to the Protestant succession. Evil days now seemed to draw nigh. By an Act against schism, passed by the English Parliament, every Presbyterian schoolmaster became liable to imprisonment for three months if he discharged the duties of his office. The Royal Bounty was now definitely withdrawn, and, all over Ulster, there was an outburst of Episcopal tyranny. The doors of the Presbyterian churches in Downpatrick, Antrim, and Rathfriland were "nailed up," and a storm of persecution seemed about to burst on the devoted heads of all Protestant Nonconformists.

For some time the Queen's health had been failing, and it was now plain that her death was near. In common with almost all Tories, she favoured the Pretender's claims; and a plot was formed to place him on the throne. The Whigs now began to take measures of self-defence. It was ascertained that fifty thousand Irish Presbyterians were prepared to carry arms in defence of the Protestant Succession, and a Huguenot clergyman was sent with this news to Hanover. The Queen died on the 1st of August, 1714, before the Tories had their plans fully matured, and King George succeeded to the throne without opposition.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE BEGINNING OF TOLERATION.

THE new King regarded all Tories as Jacobites, and dismissed them from office. The Nonconformists had now a protector ready to exercise his power of pardon to save them from the consequences of laws made by his enemies to punish his friends. He graciously received Colonel Clotworthy Upton and the Rev. Francis Iredell, who were sent to him by the Irish Presbyterian Church. These gentlemen drew the attention of His Majesty to the position in which Presbyterians were placed by the Test Act, and the penalties to which their clergymen were exposed for discharging the duties of their office. They explained to him the manner in which Nonconformist ministers were prevented from residing on the estates of bishops, and they complained of the withdrawal of Royal Bounty. The King was "sensibly concerned" by their representation. The Bounty was restored, and hopes held out that the persecuting laws would be repealed.

As it was feared that an attempt would soon be made by the Pretender to gain the throne by his sword, the Lords Justices called out the militia in Ireland. Although Presbyterians exposed themselves to severe penalties for receiving pay from the Crown, without taking the Test, they immediately offered their services to the Government. This offer was gladly accepted, and a promise was given that no Presbyterian would be punished for taking up arms to defend the Protestant religion and the House of Hanover.

The death of the Queen had caused a dissolution of the Irish Parliament. In 1715, a general election took place, and a few Presbyterian candidates were successful in Northern constituencies. Clotworthy Upton and Sir Arthur Langford were returned for the County of Antrim, Hugh Henry for Antrim borough, George Macartney for Belfast, Archibald Edmonston for Carrickfergus, and Hercules Rowley for Co. Derry. A tremendous effort was made to keep out Colonel Upton, but he was supported by the Presbyterian freeholders, notwithstanding the fury of the territorial aristocracy. Presbyterians were then faithful to their church, and the Episcopal landlords had not discovered the plan of leading them, under the name of loyalty, to vote against the Protestant religion and the liberties of Ulster.

When the Irish Parliament met, it was found that the Whigs had a majority in the Commons, and a Bill was passed through the Lower House indemnifying Presbyterians for all time to come from penalties incurred by serving in the militia, and, for ten years, from penalties incurred by serving in the army. But even this small measure of relief met with such opposition in its subsequent stages that it had to be abandoned; and the only people in Ireland upon whom the King could depend, were refused permission to carry arms in defence of his crown. But the Commons passed resolutions

to the effect that any person who would prosecute a Dissenter for accepting a commission in the army or militia was an enemy of King George and a friend to the Pretender.

On the 6th of September, 1715, the Earl of Mar raised the standard of the Stuarts in Scotland. The Duke of Argyle marched against the rebels at once, and after a desperate battle at Sheriffmuir, remained master of the field. Although the victory was not decisive, the clans were so much discouraged that they returned home, and the arrival of the Pretender himself did not prevent the rebellion coming to a speedy termination.

Meanwhile Presbyterians remained exposed to the persecutions of their enemies. Four members of Tullylish congregation were, in 1716, delivered over to Satan by Episcopal authority, for the high crime of being married by their own minister, the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy.* But Mr. Kennedy consoled himself with the thought that the Bishop had given more people to the Devil in *one* day than he could take from him in *two*.

The Synod, which met this year in Belfast, passed a resolution condemning the conduct of those members who, "during the transaction of important public business," were accustomed to pay visits, walk in the streets, or stay long in public houses. A strict law was laid down that, if during any long Sederunt, the "necessities of nature" required refreshment, it should be brought into some of the vestries of the meeting-house, and "that during any Sederunt of the Synod none presume to go into a public house."

In 1717 there were 130 ministers, 140 congregations, 11 presbyteries, and nearly 200,000 people in connection with the Synod of Ulster. These people were scattered over a wide district, and it was difficult for so few ministers to attend to their spiritual wants. Stipends were small, but money had a large purchasing power. In 1721, the people of Omagh erected the church in which the first congregation still worship. They supplied the materials of the building themselves, and the entire mason-work cost only six pounds ten shillings.

The Irish Presbyterian Church made many efforts to provide the Catholic Kelts with opportunities of hearing the Gospel preached in their own tongue. It was reported to the Synod, in 1716, that Messrs. Maclane, M'Gregor, and Simpson had often

* The Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, of Tullylish, was son of the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, of Dundonald.

The Rev. Thomas Kennedy, of Carland, died on the 9th of February, 1716, after having experienced strange vicissitudes of fortune. Killen and Witherow state that he died in 1714; but the minutes of Synod prove plainly that the date I have given is correct. After Mr. Kennedy's death, a new congregation was established in Dungannon, but there was none formed then in Donaghmore. as stated by Witherow (Memorials I., 282). Many years afterwards the Seceders erected a congregation in Castlecaulfield, which is in the same parish, and is the place to which the Rev. George Walker, in 1680, got his church removed from the village of Donaghmore.

preached in Irish, and that besides them, there were eight ministers, two licentiates, and one student who could speak and read the same language. It was determined to print an edition of the Catechism, and to make arrangements for having sermons preached in Irish. Next year, it was resolved that clergymen engaged in this work should be paid from ten to twenty shillings a Sabbath, and that each minister of the Synod "subscribe what he would mortify of his Reg. Donum for so good a work." Mr. Maclane was appointed to preach at Benburb, Dungannon, Cookstown, Minterburn, Monaghan, Stewartstown, and various other places; Mr. McGregor in Derry, Antrim, and Tyrone; Mr. Simpson anywhere in Down he might have an Irish audience, and in parts of Monaghan and Armagh; Mr. Dunlop in County Donegal and in the bounds of Convoy Presbytery.

The Synod now began to give more attention to the weak and struggling charges. But, instead of having one general fund for their assistance, there were a number of funds. Every weak congregation was to receive a definite sum from each of several presbyteries. In 1708, Sligo obtained a grant of £5 10s 0d a year from the Presbytery of Derry, £5 10s 0d from the Presbytery of Convoy, and £4 10s 0d from the Presbytery of Coleraine. But this method was found unsatisfactory, and, in 1711, it was determined that there would be only one fund, to which all the presbyteries were to contribute. A sum of £275 a-year was to be made up by the whole Church. The Presbytery of Belfast was to give £42 10s 0d; Antrim, £31 5s 0d; Down, £31 5s 0d; Armagh, £33; Monaghan, £30 10s 0d; Tyrone, £21 10s 0d; Derry, £42; Route, £21 10s 0d; and Convoy, £21 10s 0d. The assisted congregations generally received from more than one presbytery, and, in many cases, aid-giving congregations still paid their contributions directly to those which received, so that but little change seems to have been made by the new regulations. In 1715, grants were made to twenty congregations, among which we find Drogheda, Dundalk, Enniskillen, Belturbet, Sligo, Athlone, and Galway. Sometimes these grants were badly paid, and ministers of weak charges often sought aid from the Synod to compel defaulters to pay more regularly. Among these defaulters we often find the Presbytery of Belfast.

In 1718, King George I. granted eight hundred pounds a-year as an addition to the Royal Bounty. One-half was given to the Synod of Ulster and one-half to the Southern Presbyteries.* If we

* Dr. Reid's account of this transaction, although adopted by Dr. Killen, is exceedingly incorrect. He states that there were then 12 or 13 Southern ministers; that they were not previously endowed; and that they were entitled to about £150 of the £800 if divided rateably between them and the 140 ministers of the North.

We have seen, however, that, in 1708, a grant had been made by Queen Anne of £800 a-year to the Southern clergymen. Dr. Reid's sum in proportion is not correctly worked, and it is probable that there were more than 13 ministers at that time in the South, as some, such as Fowkes, of Enniscorthy, have escaped the notice of all who have written histories of our Church.

make allowance for the miscellaneous purposes to which this fund was sometimes devoted, the amount payable to each of the 138 ministers of the Synod was raised from about £8 to about £11 a-year. The Southern ministers, being so few in number, received each such a substantial addition of income as placed them in a position of comfort. This new grant of Bounty was put on the English Civil List, and paid in London; while the old grant was paid in Dublin.

The Government now determined to make another attempt to pass their long promised Toleration Bill. But the Tories, fearing that the proposed enactment might be too favourable to Non-conformists, introduced a Bill of their own, which granted them mere toleration. Even this measure of relief was considered far too much by many Episcopalians, and it passed through the Lords by a majority of only seven votes. This Act delivered Protestant Dissenters from penalties for absence from religious services in their parish churches; and it permitted Nonconformist ministers to discharge all the functions of their office without incurring the former penalty of one hundred pounds. An Act of Indemnity was also passed to protect civil or military officers, who were Non-conformists, from the consequences of having in the past received pay from the Crown without taking the Test. But they were not protected from the consequences of similar acts in future, and no attempt was made to repeal the Test Act itself.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE NON-SUBSCRIBERS.

THE struggle of the Church in the past had been against persecution from without; now it was to be against error from within. This error took its origin in the Belfast Society, a theological association under the leadership of the Rev. John Abernethy. Mr. Abernethy was born in 1680, his father being then minister of Brigh, near Stewartstown. He was educated in Glasgow, and, in 1703, ordained at Antrim. With the assistance of Dr. James Kirkpatrick and a few neighbouring ministers, he founded a clerical association. Some licentiates, theological students, and even laymen such as Dr. Victor Ferguson were admitted members. This association was finally organized in 1705, and became known as THE BELFAST SOCIETY. Its members did not directly attack the Confession of Faith, nor any of its leading doctrines; but they strongly insisted that ministers should not be required to declare their belief in any form of doctrine drawn up by man, as the Bible was itself a better summary of belief than any which a human being could make.

Although the Belfast Society opposed subscription to any human test of orthodoxy, they professed to believe the doctrines of the Westminster Confession. But that profession was generally doubted, for it was supposed that they held lax views regarding the Trinity and many other doctrines taught by the standards which they condemned. As almost all students intended for the ministry of the Irish Presbyterian Church were educated in Scotland, the Scotch professors acquired a great influence in guiding the current of religious thought in Ireland. But many of these professors, like Simpson, of Glasgow, were lax in their theology, and their laxity soon found its way into the Synod of Ulster.

The members of the Belfast Society were able ministers and persuasive debaters. From 1709, they began to make their power felt. But it was long before they published anything in defence of their peculiar views. In 1720, Mr. Abernethy printed a sermon entitled "Religious Obedience Founded on Personal Persuasion," in which he taught that the sole rule of a man's conduct was his persuasion of what was true and right. The Orthodox party now became alarmed, and the Rev. John Malcome of Dunmurry, published a pamphlet entitled "Personal Persuasion no Foundation for Religious Obedience." This tract was printed by Robert Gardner, of Belfast. The Non-Subscribers always employed James Blow, who sympathized with their principles, and who was the only other printer in the town. Mr. Malcome was inferior to his opponent in the polish of his style, and in power to analyze arguments; but he clearly pointed out Mr. Abernethy's principles, to which he applied the term, *New-Light*. By this appellation they were known afterwards, while the doctrines of the Orthodox party were termed "*Old-Light*." Mr. Malcome alluded to the Belfast Society as a party who had "suddenly separated from their brethren," and he called upon them to furnish "a scheme of their new doctrine." This challenge they took up, and, in a letter entitled "*The Good Old Way*," gave an account of the origin of their Society and of the opinions they held concerning private judgment, the headship of Christ, the terms of communion, and the extent of church authority. But in this publication very general expressions were used; and no admission was made of errors held by the members of the Society.

The Synod of 1720 was opened by a sermon from the Rev. Robert Craghead, of Dublin, son of Mr. Craghead, of Derry, in which he advocated the policy of tolerating Non-Subscribers in the church, so long as they professed to hold the leading doctrines of the Gospel. This sermon was afterwards published under the title of "*A Plea for Peace*." At the same meeting of Synod, there was an investigation concerning the truth of a report to the effect that the Rev. Samuel Haliday was an Arian and opposed to Presbyterian Church-government. Mr. Haliday was son of the Rev. Samuel Haliday, then minister of Ardstraw. He had graduated in Scotland, studied theology in Holland, and, in 1706,

been licensed at Rotterdam, after having duly signed the Westminster Confession of Faith. He was ordained at Geneva, and afterwards served as chaplain to a Scotch regiment in the Duke of Marlborough's army. Coming to Ireland as a minister without charge, he received a call to the first congregation of Belfast, vacant by Mr. M'Bride's death. A report that he was an Arian and an enemy to all Church government, was circulated by the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, of Athlone. Mr. Haliday brought this matter before the Synod, and produced witnesses and documentary evidence to prove his orthodoxy. Mr. Dunlop was unable to substantiate his charges, and was censured for his "rash and imprudent behaviour" in circulating the report without proof. Afterwards, it was seen that Mr. Haliday was far from being as orthodox as he pretended. In order to meet similar cases, this Synod passed an overture known as "The Pacific Act," which required that the Confession should be signed, according to the law of 1705, by "all Intrants into the Ministry among them, though they had been licensed or ordained elsewhere." But, if there were any phrases in the Confession concerning which the person called to subscribe had scruples, he might "use his own expressions," which the Presbytery were to accept, provided that they judged him "sound in the Faith." The Synod also asked the brethren not to publish anything connected with this controversy, without consulting some of the most "judicious" of their brethren; and they ordered ministers to preach "Catechetick Doctrine," insisting on the great and fundamental truths of Christianity, according to the Confession of Faith, "particularly the Eternal Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ."

At this Synod, many of the weak congregations complained that certain presbyteries had failed to pay the sums ordered by the Synod. Dundalk stated that the Presbytery of Antrim owed them forty-five pounds, "Armagh" twenty-two pounds, Belfast thirteen pounds, Coleraine eight pounds, and Down one pound. Athlone, Drogheda, and other weak congregations had likewise failed to get what was promised them.

The Pacific Act was soon violated. Mr. Haliday, at his installation, refused to sign the Confession of Faith. But the influence of the Belfast Society was so strong in the Presbytery, that a majority of the court, contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the Act, proceeded with the ceremony. The minority protested, and, at the next meeting of the Belfast Sub-Synod, that protest, after a debate of several days, was sustained, and the majority who had installed Mr. Haliday rebuked; but he was permitted to remain in charge of the congregation in which he had been placed.

The Presbyterian people now began to feel alarmed; and, had their power been directed by a leader like Cooke, there is no doubt but the new-light would have been speedily extinguished. The Synod of 1721 was attended by 120 ministers and 100 elders. Seventeen congregations presented memorials, requesting that subscription to the Confession should be made compulsory. Mr.

Haliday was present, but he refused to either subscribe or to express adherence to his former subscription. He declared that this refusal did not proceed from disbelief of the doctrines contained in the Confession, but because he objected to submit to "human tests of Divine truths." After a long discussion, the matter was dropped in compliance with a request of commissioners from the Southern Presbytery of Dublin. Mr. Haliday was thus recognised as pastor of a congregation in which he had been installed contrary to the law of the Church. The Synod, however, resolved that any minister who would deny the doctrine of Christ's Deity in preaching, writing, or conversation, should be brought to trial. It was also carried by a large majority that any member of the Synod who was willing might then and there subscribe to the Confession. Almost all embraced this opportunity, and some who were absent, or who had then refused, subscribed afterwards. But Messrs. Abernethy, Bruce, Clugston, Haliday, Harper, Henderson, Kirkpatrick, Mairs, Nevin, Shaw, Taylor, and Wilson persisted in their refusal.

As Dr. Kirkpatrick and Mr. Haliday, the two Belfast ministers, belonged to this party, an application on behalf of a large number of their people was made to the Synod to sanction the establishment of a new congregation. After great opposition, the matter was referred to the Presbytery of Belfast, with the right of appeal to the Synod's committee. These courts sanctioned the erection of a third congregation, and a new church was built in Rosemary Street, very near the two already existing. To assist in this work, Mr. Samuel Smyth, an elder, obtained subscriptions in Scotland. The magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow sanctioned a collection in the city churches, and the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr a collection in their parishes. Dr. Kirkpatrick tried to prevent the progress of the building. By his influence, a person who had agreed to supply stones withdrew from his contract. But, notwithstanding all impediments, a church was erected, and the Rev. Charles Mastertown of Connor installed its minister. When the Lord's Supper was first administered in the new building, Dr. Kirkpatrick and Mr. Haliday endeavoured to communicate with the congregation, but were prohibited by Mr. Mastertown's Session.

As there was not then a single newspaper in the province of Ulster, the contending parties made their opinions public by means of pamphlets. Mr. Dunlop, of Athlone, who had been previously rebuked, published a defence of the Synod against an attack of the Rev. W. Dugud, a convert from Popery, who had been for a while connected with the Church of Scotland. In this publication, Mr. Dunlop plainly accused the Non-Subscribers of being Unitarians.

In reply to this and other attacks on the principles of his party, Dr. Kirkpatrick wrote "*A Vindication*," which was published by his friend, Dr. Victor Ferguson. In 1722, Mr. Abernethy printed "*A Seasonable Advice to the Protestant Dissenters in the North of Ireland*," which Dr. Reid thinks by far the ablest production of his practised pen. In this work, he tried to prove that refusing to

subscribe was no proof of unsoundness in the faith, and that the questions in debate were unworthy of causing alarm among the laity. To this pamphlet several replies were published by the Subscribers. Hitherto the disputants in this controversy had issued their publications anonymously; but now the Rev. Matthew Clerk of Kilrea—a brave old soldier who carried on his forehead the mark of a wound received at the siege of Derry*—printed, under his own name, “A Letter from the Country to a Friend in Belfast,” and, afterwards, an answer to a reply published by the Belfast Society. In these pamphlets he dealt very hard blows to the Non-Subscribers, and foretold that the Presbyterian people would abide by their principles notwithstanding the influence of their teachers.

At the next meeting of Synod, an overture was introduced to exclude all ministers who, if they refused to sign the Confession, would not give satisfactory answers to the fifth and sixth questions of the Shorter Catechism. The Non-Subscribers now seemed alarmed. One after another, they asserted their belief in the Supreme Deity of Our Saviour, and promised not to disturb the church in future by any unnecessary publication of their sentiments. Moved by these promises, the Subscribers did not attempt to pass their overture; but they carried a resolution expressing a determination of adhering “most constantly and firmly” to the Confession and to Presbyterian government and discipline. In 1723, the Synod met in Dungannon. Nine days were occupied by an appeal of Colonel Upton, M.P., from a resolution of the Sub-Synod of Belfast, to the effect that he was unable to prove a statement which he had made that the principles of the Non-Subscribers opened a door for heresy. The Colonel and the orthodox party had evidently a majority of the house, but the New-Light members adopted the course of requiring proof, that publications printed in their name, were issued by their authority. This caused the business to be adjourned. On the other hand, a charge of the Non-Subscribers against Mr. Clerk was abandoned.

Next year Colonel Upton was unable to attend, and, ere long, was removed by death. But the Synod was for a considerable time occupied with charges made against the Rev. Thomas Nevin of Downpatrick. Accused of being an Arian by a Mr. Echlin of Bangor, he brought an action against his accuser. But Captain Hannyington of Moneyrea, and two others swore an affidavit that they had heard Mr. Nevin assert that it was no blasphemy to say Christ is not God. Mr. Nevin then published a letter stating that this charge was false, that he had merely said it was no

* Priest and teacher of the town,
 Long as stands good Londonderry,
 With its stories, sad and merry,
 Shall thy name be handed down
 As a man of prayer and mark,
 Grave and reverend Matthew Clerk.

blasphemy for the Jews to deny the Messiah, and that they ought not to be punished for expressing such an opinion. This letter, however, contained several very rash statements, and, as it was circulated among the members of Synod, charges were immediately brought against its author, and a committee appointed to draw up an accusation. After a long discussion, Mr. Nevin was called to declare his belief in the Deity of Our Saviour. This he refused to do, as being contrary to his non-subscribing principles; but Mr. Boyse stated that he had heard the accused preach against Arianism; and Mr. Henry, who had brought the charge, declared himself satisfied. The Synod, however, would not listen to any excuse; and, although nothing was proved against Mr. Nevin beyond the fact that he was a Non-Subscriber, they passed a resolution cutting him off from the church courts, but leaving him in possession of his status and emoluments of a minister.

Mr. Nevin's troubles were not yet ended. He was now accused at Downpatrick Assizes of giving expression to Unitarian opinions, then a crime to which severe penalties were attached. Many of the Episcopal clergy, in their zeal against Nonconformists, were present, and the judge asked one of these to explain, for the benefit of himself and the jury, what was the doctrine called Arianism; but he begged leave to decline. Another and another of the Episcopal divines, when asked for a similar explanation, gave similar refusals, thereby showing that they were eager to injure a minister for professing a doctrine which they did not understand. At last, His Lordship was informed that there was in court a young Presbyterian minister—Mr. John Mairs—who had been lately ordained in Newtownards. From him the judge and jury received a full explanation of the doctrine which the others did not understand. The judge then expressed his admiration for the talents of Mr. Mairs, and exhorted the Episcopal clergy to divest themselves of bigotry and false zeal. The charge against Mr. Nevin failed, as it was “unmeaning, senseless, and undefined.”*

The Presbyterian people were much more orthodox than their pastors, and, in several cases, petitioned the church courts for permission to withdraw from the ministry of Non-Subscribers and join others reputed to be orthodox.

Mr. Alexander Colville, M.D., son of the minister of Dromore, was, about this time, called to succeed his father. Dr. Colville had been educated in Scotland, and, when licensed by the Presbytery of Cupar, had signed the Confession. But now, on refusing to renew his subscription, the Presbytery declined to ordain him. He then went to London, and was set apart to the work of the ministry by some Dissenting clergymen in Dr. Calamy's church. On his return, the Presbytery refused to install him. This so enraged Dr. Calamy that he threatened to use his political influence to get the Bounty withdrawn. Mr. Boyse and some of the other Dublin ministers,

* Campbell's MS.—This circumstance has escaped the notice of both Reid and Killen.

representing to the Lord Lieutenant that the action of the Subscribers was unjust and tyrannical, obtained a declaration from him that His Majesty, the King, was displeased at the divisions among Ulster Presbyterians. But, notwithstanding this declaration, the Synod of 1725 suspended Dr. Colville for three months from the office of the ministry, and gave power to the Sub-Synod of Armagh to terminate, or to prolong that suspension, if necessary. Mr. Colville still continued to preach, and, afterwards, got the Southern Presbytery of Dublin to install him in Dromore.

Another step of importance was taken by the same Synod. Notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Abernethy and his party, the congregations belonging to the Presbyteries of Antrim, Down, and Belfast were distributed into five presbyteries in such a way as to leave all the Non-Subscribers in the Presbytery of Antrim, and thus limit the sphere of their influence.

Meanwhile both parties were active with their pens. Mr. Nevin published a long account of his trial. Messrs. Kirkpatrick, Bruce and Haliday issued publications advocating the principles of the Non-Subscribers, and Mr. Elder of Aghadoey, a professed subscriber, published "Reasons for Moderation." Mr. Higinbotham of Coleraine, another subscriber, issued a pamphlet against certain overtures which the previous Synod had proposed to adopt with the object of dealing more strictly with the minority. Messrs. M'Bride of Ballymoney, Mastertown, Hemphill, and Iredell issued pamphlets on the side of the Subscribers; and Mr. Boyse, in the last work which he gave to the public, advocated the other side, although his religious views were never in any respect heterodox.

The next Synod met on the 21st of June, 1726, at Dungannon.* An overture was brought forward by the Orthodox party to exclude the Presbytery of Antrim from ministerial communion in the church courts. Thirty-six ministers and a vast majority of the elders voted for this proposition, while thirty-four ministers and only a few elders opposed the overture. The Presbytery of Antrim were thus excluded, and the great conflict of the Seven Synods brought to a termination.

By this decision, the influence of the Non-Subscribers was for a time greatly diminished, and many people withdrew from their ministry. About 90 families belonging to Mr. Abernethy and about 100 families belonging to Mr. Shaw of Ahoghil, were erected into new congregations by the Synod. Doubtless Mr. Abernethy and his friends had not imbibed nearly so much error as their successors. They professed to still hold the doctrines of the Confession although they refused to sign any human creed. Their statements were plausible, and they had many sympathizers among those whose orthodoxy was unquestioned. Dr. Campbell states that he had con-

* Dr. Hamilton is astray in stating (Hist. p. 122) that about this period the annual meetings were held in Dungannon "for half a century." During the eighteenth century just twenty five ordinary and two special meetings were held in that town.

versed with some who went to the Synod "highly prejudiced against the Non-Subscribing ministers, and returned home as highly satisfied with the liberality of their sentiments and the justness of their arguments." This sympathy produced a decided effect in after years.

The Non-Subscribers were merely excluded from ministerial communion in church judicatories but not from communion in religious ordinances, and were permitted to retain their share of Royal Bounty. They published "A Narrative of the Proceedings of Seven General Synods of the Northern Presbyterians in Ireland," which, although a very valuable compilation, was written altogether in the interest of the ejected Presbytery.

At the request of some subscribing ministers, the Rev. John Hutcheson, of Armagh, consented to reply to this "Narrative," but he died before his work was completed. He had previously written a reply to a letter issued by the Non-Subscribers to vindicate their conduct; but it was not published until after his death. Then the Rev. George Lang printed this "Brief Review" by Mr. Hutcheson, with notes of his own. Dr. Reid considers it the most satisfactory vindication of subscription to a confession, and of submission to the authority of the church which was written by any of the Orthodox party, and he regrets that the duty of replying to the Belfast Society from the first, had not fallen on the same author.

The Rev. John Hutcheson was son of the Rev. Alex. Hutcheson of Saintfield, at whose suggestion, in all probability, Sir Arthur Forbes persuaded King Charles to make the first grant of Royal Bounty. He was ordained at Downpatrick in 1690, and, in 1697, became minister of Armagh. In 1722, his church was rebuilt, and, in this work, stones were used which had been taken from the ruins of an ancient monastery. Some of these stones, adorned with heads of angels, were now cut smooth, as the Presbyterians of Armagh did not wish to have graven images on the building. While the workmen were thus engaged, Dean Swift chanced to pass by, and he remarked that these Presbyterians were "chiselling Popery out of the very stones." Turning to a sawyer, he enquired what wages he earned. "Fifteen pence a day, your reverence," replied the tradesman. "And I," rejoined the Dean, "could get a better workman for ten-pence a-day in Dublin." "That may be," replied the sawyer, "and I can produce a parson who preaches better sermons than the Dean of St. Patrick's, although he gets only £40 a-year, while the Dean receives £700." So pleased was Swift with this answer, that he gave the sawyer half-a-crown.

Mr. Hutcheson's son, Francis, studied in Scotland under professor Simpson, from whom he imbibed the very principles his father so powerfully refuted. He was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Armagh, and was about to be ordained in Magherally, when, by the advice of some ministers, he declined the call and opened an academy in Dublin. This seminary succeeded. Hutcheson soon became famous; and the friendships he formed among the aristocracy, prevented him from being punished for teaching without the Bishop's license. In

1729, he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow. He delivered his lectures in English, and not in Latin, as had hitherto been customary. He soon attained to a high position, and is regarded as founder of the Scottish Metaphysical School. His Theology was generally indefinite, and, where definite, was heterodox. On one occasion he preached for his father, and so much disliked was his doctrine, that the whole congregation, with the exception of the precentor and two other persons, rose up before his discourse was finished and left the Meeting House.

As a professor, Mr. Hutcheson had great influence with Irish students, and the works he published were read by many of both the Episcopal and Presbyterian ministers of Ireland. It is related that the Rev. Philip Skelton, while on a visit with a bishop of his own church, greatly offended the wife of his host, because he ventured to express his disapproval of Hutcheson's theories. When they were at dinner one day, she remarked to him that a lady friend of hers had stated that he had been lately preaching on "Hell's fire." "Who told you this," asked Skelton? On hearing the name, he remarked it was no matter what *that* lady said, as she was mistress of the Archbishop of York. This turned the laugh against his hostess, who did not try to ridicule Skelton again.

While the Synod of 1727 was sitting in Dungannon, news of King George's death arrived, and, on the invitation of Thomas Knox, one of the representatives of the borough, the members were present at the proclamation of George II., the new Sovereign. The previous year, another presbytery had been formed to accommodate the ministers residing in Dublin.

Meanwhile Presbyterians had to suffer many persecutions, from which the influence of the King was powerless to save them. They were almost all farmers depending on the good-will of their Episcopal landlords for continued possession of the lands which their own labour had turned from a barren waste into a fruitful field. Many of these landlords were petty tyrants who used their power to favour the Established Church. Often Presbyterians were charged higher rents than their Episcopal neighbours, and sometimes they had to even choose between their faith and their farms. At the time of elections, Presbyterian voters were required to support the enemies of their country and their creed. Besides, they were compelled to pay tithes for maintaining Episcopal rectors whose sermons they never heard, and whose doctrines they did not believe. On many occasions they had to serve as vestrymen in the Episcopal Church. They were excluded by the Test Act from all Government offices, and they were often prosecuted if they were married by their own clergymen. Colonel Upton succeeded in getting a clause inserted in a Bill as it passed through the Irish House of Commons, which would have saved Presbyterians from much persecution in connection with their marriages; but the bishops were strong enough to prevent its further progress.

At this period almost all the population of Ireland lived by farming. Of late, rents had been raised so high that even

Dean Swift condemned the greed and rapacity of the landlords. There was then but little produce which a farmer could exchange for money, except the linen cloth which his sons had woven from yarn spun by his daughters out of flax grown on his farm. Heavy commodities, such as oats or potatoes, could not be conveyed from inland districts to seaports for exportation, as the roads were so exceedingly steep and narrow that loads had to be carried on horses' backs. It often happened, moreover, that a particular commodity would be at a famine price in one district, while a few miles distant it might be found in abundance. In 1728, there was a general famine throughout Ireland, caused by a succession of bad harvests. Prices rose so high that it was difficult to procure food. Bands of Keltic peasants, driven to madness by starvation, came down from the mountains and robbed the houses of Presbyterian farmers on the fertile plains. As all punishments were then exceedingly severe, these robbers, when convicted, were often hanged under circumstances of barbarous cruelty.

Many Irish Presbyterians, persecuted by the Prelatists and kept in poverty by the landlords, determined to seek another home under another government. Until the end of William's reign, there had been a movement of population from Scotland to Ireland. Now arose a similar movement from Ireland to America. Every year about 6000 of the 200,000 Irish Presbyterians crossed the Atlantic to seek a refuge from civil and religious tyranny. The number of emigrants was soon largely increased and many farms were left without occupants. The government became alarmed at the threatened depopulation of Ulster, and condescended to make enquiry from Mr. Iredell and Mr. Craghead regarding the causes by which it was produced. Mr. Iredell asked the Northern Presbyteries to make reports on this matter, and a statement furnished in 1728 by the Presbytery of Tyrone is preserved. In this document, the reasons assigned for the abnormal emigration are high rents, oppressive tithes, bad seasons for the previous three years, and the exclusion of Presbyterians from places of power or profit by the Test Act.

The famine of 1728 not only increased emigration, but it diminished the income of Presbyterian ministers at the very period when the poverty of their people made it desirable that they should have the means of relieving the poor. Mr. Livingston of Templepatrick, writing to a friend, in March, 1729, says:—"Almost the whole product of the last harvest is already spent. There is not seed enough to sow the ground . . . which with the oppressive and exorbitant rents and tithes from the landlords and established clergy is driving the inhabitants out of the country to America. This people are now indebted to me in four years' full stipend, and I have not received above £12 since January was a twelvemonth."

The deplorable condition of Irish Presbyterian ministers was brought before the government in London by Mr. Craghead, who had received a letter of introduction to Sir Robert Walpole from Primate Boulter, a man of mild and tolerant disposition. But Mr.

Craghead, although favourably received, was not able to accomplish more than obtain payment of some arrears of Royal Bounty.

Mr. Abernethy, who had removed from Belfast to Dublin, printed a pamphlet urging reasons for repealing the Test. To this pamphlet a reply was published by Dean Swift. Although the Dean had no religious principles himself, he was strongly opposed to the principles of Presbyterians. At that time he was in the height of the popularity he had gained by writing against Wood's halfpence. Knowing that the money was good, he boldly asserted it was base, and that a lady would need to have a waggon load of it with her when she went shopping. But these assertions, although absurd, were believed, and the Government had to withdraw the coin from circulation. In this way the Dean came to be regarded as a lover of the country he hated, and of the race he despised. He was now the most popular man in Ireland; and all the power springing from that popularity he exercised against Presbyterians.

Meanwhile the Church was able to maintain its position, notwithstanding famine and emigration, persecution from without and growing laxity from within. Even the "disputed settlement" of a minister was sometimes a means of progress. If the defeated minority built a church for themselves at a distance from the old one, it often supplied a necessary want. But, when the new building was erected beside the other, it became an element of weakness. The Synod, however, viewed these splits with displeasure—whether their result was to weaken or to strengthen the cause—and, in 1733, they enacted that a candidate, to be duly elected, must have two-thirds of the votes, and the votes of those who paid two-thirds of the stipend. This was called a Synodical majority, and was sometimes described as "two-thirds of the men and the money." The object of this law was to prevent the election of a minister when opposed by a minority strong enough to set up a rival congregation.

In 1737, Presbyterians obtained a slight relief from their religious disabilities by an Act which, without definitely legalizing their marriages, exempted them from prosecution in the bishops' courts when the ceremony was performed by ministers of their own Church. In the same year, Francis Joy founded the *Belfast News-Letter*—the oldest newspaper in Ulster. The yearly subscription for the town was four shillings and sixpence, and for the country six and sixpence. The Winter of 1739-40 was remarkable for its great black frost which began on the 26th of December, and continued till the 15th of February. The sun seldom shone, and the cold was so intense that almost all the potatoes were destroyed. A famine followed, and the famine was succeeded by pestilence. More than four hundred thousand of the people perished, and, for a considerable period afterwards, about twelve thousand emigrated to America every year.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SECESSION CHURCH.

DURING a time of Tory tyranny in the reign of Anne, the British Parliament, in violation of the Act of Union, took from Scotch Presbyterians the power of electing their pastors, and handed it over to the Crown and the aristocracy. The result was disastrous. The "Patrons," to whom the right of nomination was given, forced the people to take unsuitable ministers, and a time of laxity succeeded the religious earnestness which had prevailed during the persecutions of the past.

On the 18th of October, 1732, the synod of Stirling and Perth was opened by a sermon from the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, the outgoing moderator. In this discourse, Mr. Erskine asserted that, as every society of men had a right to choose their own servants, God had never granted to any set of patrons the power to impose servants on His Church—the freest society in the world. These principles were displeasing to the "moderate" majority who then ruled the Church of Scotland, and Mr. Erskine was admonished by the next Assembly. Against this censure he protested, and his protest was signed by the Revs. W. Wilson, Alex. Moncrieff and James Fisher. The Assembly, enraged at the terms employed by the protestors, ordered them to appear before the next Commission, which was directed to suspend them, unless they would express sorrow for their conduct and retract their protest. But, refusing to make the necessary apology, the accused ministers were suspended from their office, and, afterwards, deprived of their congregations. The four brethren then left the Church of Scotland, and, on the 5th of December, 1733, at Gairney Bridge, constituted themselves into a regular church court called the Associate Presbytery. Being men of power and piety, they had soon many followers.

Although the system of patronage against which Mr. Erskine protested, did not exist in Ireland, there were other causes which demanded a measure of reform in the Synod of Ulster. In that Synod, a rapidly increasing party were as lax in doctrine as the expelled Presbytery of Antrim; and just as the spiritual life of the church grew weaker, the tendency to oppose the formation of new congregations grew stronger. The ministers, having begun to love self, more than the principles of their faith, desired to maintain their dividends from the Royal Bounty rather than to provide religious ordinances for Presbyterians who lived far from a place of worship. We find, for example, that in 1751, on the complaint of Stonebridge, a congregation which had been formed at Newbliss, five miles distant, was dissolved. In 1753 it was enacted that a minister would not be ordained to any pastoral charge which did not promise him £40 a year of stipend; and some years afterwards it was determined that no society of worshippers would be recognized as a congregation unless they offered at least £50 a year of stipend. The result of

these enactments was to prevent any considerable increase in the number of ministerial charges in the Synod of Ulster during the latter half of the last century, although the Episcopal Church, with very few people more, had five times as many clergymen. The aged Presbyterians then remembered with sorrow the time when their fathers suffered for principles now neglected or despised.

The Secession Church became at this period a means of establishing many new congregations where they were required, of leading the more zealous out of the Synod, of keeping them pure from generation to generation, and of bringing back their children's children better Presbyterians than those who had been taken away.

In 1736, the Rev. Wm. Patton was installed minister of Lisburn. Many members opposed to his settlement had abstained from voting, and, after his installation, 280 heads of families applied to the Associate Presbytery for a minister who would preach the gospel in its "purity and simplicity." But then the Seceders were unable to comply with this request. Some time afterwards, a family named Henderson, took offence at Mr. Livingston, minister of Templepatrick, because he obtained for himself or for his son a farm which had belonged to them. Mr. Livingston was orthodox in his religious views, but many of his people in the Lylehill district were anxious for a "new erection" on account of residing at a great distance from the church. In August, 1742, Mr. Samuel Henderson and Mr. John Gibson* appeared before the Associate Presbytery, and received a promise that a preacher would be sent to Ireland. In fulfilment of that promise, Mr. Thomas Ballentyne, a licentiate, visited Co. Antrim. Vast crowds attended his services, as the Presbyterian people were glad to see a preacher by whom the old principles were taught with the old power. Other licentiates succeeded Mr. Ballentyne, and, on the 9th of July, 1746, Mr. Isaac Patton, having been duly called, was ordained at Lylehill, by a commission sent from Scotland. His pastoral charge embraced Lisburn and Belfast, as well as the place in which he had been ordained. He was promised £50 a year of stipend—his entire income—as Seceders did not obtain a share of Royal Bounty until nearly fifty years afterwards. Mr. Patton was a native of Co. Derry, although licensed by the Scottish Seceders. He was celebrated, not only for his earnestness and orthodoxy, but also for his wit. On one occasion, he described a new Unitarian church as having "a good shell but a bad kernel." He preached "catechetical" doctrine, dwelling on justification, adoption, sanctification, and perseverance. He moved his hearers by appealing to the understanding rather than to the feelings. His communions were attended by vast crowds, of whom many came from Belfast. While one clergyman preached in the church, others addressed separate meetings outside. There were also the usual tents in which refreshments might be obtained.

* Mr. Gibson was an ancestor of Dr. Barnett of Moneymore, and Mr. James Gibson, M.P.

Meanwhile matters were getting worse in the Synod of Ulster. As those who sympathized with the excluded Presbytery grew in strength, there was a corresponding decrease of zeal throughout the Church. Not only did opposition to the formation of new charges continue to grow, but weak congregations had often great difficulty in obtaining payment of the money they had been voted by the Synod. In 1742, the Rev. Luke Ash, minister of Sligo, and son of a gallant soldier who had fought at Londonderry, complained that amongst other defaulting congregations "Newtown-Lemnavaddie" owed him £9 for six years; St. Johnston £4, for four years; "Donaghedie" £2, for two years; and Burt £3, for three years. Similar complaints were often made by other ministers with regard to other rich congregations who neglected to give to the poorer charges what they had been ordered. At the meetings of Synod a great variety of business was transacted. It was very common to make charitable collections for ministers, their widows, deserving laymen at home, or even for parties held in captivity by the Turks. A petition was presented to the Synod in 1742, from the inhabitants of Omagh, representing the "melancholy circumstances" to which they were reduced by an accidental fire which had "consumed the greatest part of their worldly substance," and asking for assistance in raising funds when they would appeal to public charity. The Synod agreed to assist, "as far as they may," to make the charity effectual. This minute not only illustrates the variety of matters coming before church courts, but it proves plainly that Omagh was burned in 1742, and not in 1743, as is stated in every history of the town which I have seen.

In 1743, the Presbytery of Dromore was formed by taking the Orthodox members out of the Presbytery of Armagh on account of a disagreement between them and the New-light members. About this time, the Rev. George Ferguson of Markethill denied the doctrine of Original Sin, and the newly-formed Presbytery of Dromore sent preachers to the Orthodox members of his congregation. The Synod decided that this action was irregular and offensive; but they ordered the Presbytery of Armagh to investigate the charges against Mr. Ferguson. The members of this court, sympathising with the New-light party, declared these accusations not proven.

In 1745, the Protestant succession escaped from a great danger. Charles Stuart, grandson of King James II., landed in Scotland to raise another rebellion. He was supported by the Episcopal gentry and their Roman Catholic serfs. He captured Edinburgh, was proclaimed regent under his father, James VIII., and defeated General Cope at Preston Pans. He afterwards invaded England, took Carlisle and Manchester, and marched towards London. In that city a fearful panic ensued. The shops were shut, and there was a run on the Bank of England. But, disappointed in his hope of being joined by the English people, he ordered a retreat to Scotland. Having repulsed his pursuers, he arrived safely in Glasgow. At Falkirk Muir, he defeated General

Hawley, but, on the 16th of April, 1746, he was entirely defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden, and he escaped with difficulty through the assistance of Flora Macdonald. Charles had imbibed the religious and political principles of his ancestors; and his success would have been dangerous to the liberties of the nation. The defeat of this rebellion was injurious to Episcopal dissent in Scotland, as many of those who professed that faith had been guilty of treason, and the Duke of Cumberland burned several of their meeting houses.

In Ireland the Evangelical party were so strong in the Synod of 1747 that they obtained the publication of a "Serious Warning," against denying the doctrines of the Trinity, Original Sin, and other leading dogmas taught in the Confession. Those who favoured the New Light did not oppose the passing of these resolutions, as they feared to render themselves unpopular with their own congregations, but they got a condemnation of the Secession Church inserted, proving that they were still powerful.

The progress of the Seceders, although rapid, was retarded by an unfortunate dispute among themselves. The burgesses in some towns of Scotland, had to swear that they would support "the true religion presently professed within the realm and authorized by the laws thereof." A majority, believing that this oath was directed against Popery, concluded they might take it with a clear conscience; but others condemned it as involving a recognition of patronage. This difference of opinion split the Seceders into two parties called Burghers and Antiburghers. The oath in question was not imposed in any of the Irish boroughs; yet, in Ireland, the societies divided. Mr. Patton joined the Antiburghers and others joined the Burghers.

Notwithstanding this division, the Seceders made rapid progress. There was an unoccupied field for them in Ireland. They had begun to work before the Methodists. The country was not then cursed with religious communism. Presbyterians were almost the only Protestant Dissenters. But the ministers of the Synod having grown lukewarm, the most earnest of their people became Seceders. The Secession Church then included the orthodox, the evangelical, the æsthetic, and the mystic. But the great body of its pastors and people were thoroughly orthodox; and their orthodoxy assimilated every other form of religious thought which came into their communion. Having the sympathy of very many who possessed spiritual life throughout Ulster, the Seceders grew with rapidity. But they were opposed by both parties in the Synod. The Old-Light accused them of setting up altar against altar, and the New-Light hated them on account of the fervour of their orthodoxy.

Soon after Mr. Patton was ordained at Lylehill, Secession Societies were formed in several districts of the North. The greater part of the congregation of Ray, County Donegal, became Seceders, because the Synod compelled Mr. Laird, their minister, to accept a call from Belfast against his own will. A Secession congregation

was established at Boardmills, and on the 22nd June, 1749, the Rev. A. Black installed its pastor. About the same time Mr. Thomas Mayne was ordained minister of another congregation near Rathfriland, and Mr. David Arrott to the charge of Markethill. The Presbyterians of Clenanee, County Tyrone, worshipped in Aughnacloy, from which many of them were six or seven miles distant. In 1744, they erected a mudwall church, commonly called the "Clabber House," where they were supplied with preaching every third Sabbath. Sometimes neglected by the Synod, and sometimes receiving unsuitable supplies, they joined the Seceders, and, in 1754, Mr. Hugh McGill was ordained their pastor. The people of Newbliss having failed to induce the Synod to form them into a congregation now applied to the Associate Presbytery, who at once granted the prayer of their memorial.

These actions of the Secession Church evoked feelings of bitter hostility in the minds of the members of the Synod of Ulster. Public debates often took place between clergymen of these rival churches. In 1747, the Rev. R. Higinbotham,* moderator of the Synod, challenged Mr. Swanston, a Secession licentiate, to a discussion. This challenge was accepted. A platform was erected in the open air near Ballyrashane, and there, in presence of an immense multitude, the two champions discussed the merits of their respective churches for the greater part of a summer day.

Hitherto various attempts made to provide for the support of ministers' widows and orphans had met with only slight success. But in 1750, Mr. William Bruce, youngest son of the Rev. James Bruce of Killyleagh, and an elder in Wood Street, Dublin, appeared before the Synod at its meeting in Dungannon, and induced them to reorganize a fund, which had previously existed, for this desirable object. That fund was to be now supported by £2 a year out of the "King's Bounty," contributed by every minister, and by collections in the congregations of the Synod. Subscriptions were received, and legacies were obtained. The Presbytery of Antrim were invited to join, but the Southern Association were not included, as, in 1748, they had started a scheme of their own, for the support of widows alone. This union of the Synod with the Presbytery of Antrim in a matter of charity, was a means of bringing them more closely together in other respects. A growing tendency towards laxity began now to be, year by year, more visible, among ministers of the Synod. They were almost all educated in Scotch universities, and Dr. Reid ascribes much of the change which had come over their opinions to the influence of such men as Professors Simpson, Hutcheson, Hamilton, and Leechman.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century the tide was running towards scepticism, just as it was running towards ortho-

* Mr. Higinbotham was ordered by the Synod, in 1714, under pain of suspension, to carry out within three months his promise of marrying a Mrs. Martha Woods. Before the expiration of the time specified, the lady became Mrs. Higinbotham.

doxy during the greater part of the nineteenth, and as now it has begun to run once more towards scepticism. But a religion must possess dogmas to evoke zeal. Negation never raises enthusiasm, and, with the decay of orthodoxy in the church, an end came to the zeal which causes progress.

From 1701 till 1751, in cases where a minister had an assistant, both received shares of the Royal Bounty. But then, on a complaint made by the Presbytery of Antrim, it was resolved that officiating ministers alone should enjoy the Donum. Although the population of Ireland was at that time fully one-half of what it is now, there were only 157 congregations in the Synod of Ulster.* These congregations must, on an average, have each contained twice as many people and have been four times as widely extended as ministerial charges at present. But at this period the Seceders alone exhibited the vigour which sprung from the possession of spiritual life. Sound in their theology, and strict in their discipline, they commended themselves to the Presbyterian laity of the Synod, now ready to forsake their own pastors, who neither instructed their understandings nor excited their emotions.

On the 12th of April, 1750, the first Secession Presbytery, consisting of Messrs. Patton, Arrot, and Stewart was formed at Arkilly, near Limavady, by the Antiburghers. And on the 24th of July, 1751, being the day after Dr. Clark's ordination at Cahans, the first Burgher Presbytery, consisting of Messrs. Black, Mayne, and Clark, was constituted in William M'Kinley's field, where the services of the preceding day had been held. Mr. Mayne was great-grandfather of Captain Mayne Reid, the novelist.

At the request of a deputation from the Presbytery of Antrim, the Synod, in 1758, resolved unanimously to exchange "correspondents" with that Presbytery and with the Southern Presbytery of Dublin that they might consult on their "general interests," and all "appear in the eye of the world as one body, and engaged in one common cause."† In 1759, the Synod met in Lurgan. Messrs. Colville, Mackay, and Nevin handed in a commission from the Presbytery of Antrim, which was sustained. But next morning, on reading the minutes, it was carried that these correspondents should be permitted to deliberate only in matters of secular interest. Notwithstanding this slight interruption, the connection between the Synod and the Presbytery of Antrim soon became exceedingly close. The members of the Presbytery attended the meetings of the Synod. Their names came to be entered on the minutes, and at last they seemed to be almost the same body.

At this time, the state of the Irish Episcopal Church was worse than the state of the Synod of Ulster. Both priests and people were in the depths of ignorance, and the bishops were either careless or heterodox. At an ordination dinner, one of these rulers of the

* There were also 13 in the Presbytery of Antrim. MS. Minutes of Synod of Ulster.

† MS. Minutes of Synod.

clergy advised the newly-made ministers to get off by heart all the droll stories they could find in a good jest book, to invent a few of their own, and to entertain the company with these at wakes, marriages, and christenings. Dr. Robert Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, was a bigoted Unitarian. It is related that once he kept the Rev. Philip Skelton listening a whole hour, while he repeated his favourite arguments against the doctrine of the Trinity. In 1751 he published "An Essay on Spirit," written by a friend, in which Unitarian doctrines were defended. This book was read by many Presbyterian ministers.

The morals of the people were as lax as the theology of the clergy. When Mr. Skelton became rector of Pettigo in 1750, he took with him a celebrated boxer, named Jonas Good, whose business was to accompany his master everywhere to protect him from insults. Mr. Skelton preached every month at Sir James Caldwell's. Once "when examining some persons of quality there, one of them told him that there were two Gods, another three Gods, and so on, such was their ignorance." The state of both priests and people in the Established Church tended to produce an evil result in the Presbyterian Church. Ministers became more careless as New-Light principles grew powerful. The example set by the Presbytery of Armagh in relaxing the rules regarding subscription was followed by several of the other Presbyteries. At last, the Synod as a body was just as heterodox as the Non-Subscribers who had been excluded.

Meanwhile other sects had begun to spring up in Ireland. The Rev. John Cennick, a minister of the "Wild Moravians," visited various parts of the North, in 1746, and preached to large crowds. A few congregations of this denomination were established afterwards. In 1747, the Rev. John Wesley began to preach in the country, but his converts were generally among Episcopalians, as Presbyterians then preferred a religion founded on principle to one founded on feeling. Wesley was himself a rigid prelatist, and worshipped in the Episcopal Church, no matter how worthless or heterodox might be the rector. In Carrickfergus he went so far as to declare that he "never went to meeting." The minds of the Ulster Presbyterians were now so sharpened by their own controversies that they were enabled to see how self-contradictory was the system of Wesley, who had taken one premise from the Old-light, the other from the New-light, and from these preached a salvation of grace and works combined. But this system was rejected by both parties of Presbyterians on account of its logical impossibility. The progress of the new sect, was, therefore, at first, very slow. for we find that the Wesleyan societies of Ulster had, in 1760, only 250 members.

From the death of David Houston, the Reformed Presbyterians or Covenanters had no settled minister in Ireland until 1761, when Mr. Matthew Lynd was ordained at Vow, near Rasharkin, but it was not till 1792 that their first presbytery was organized.

The Rev. Thomas Clark, M.D., of Cahans, was the most distinguished of the early Secession ministers. He had studied

medicine as well as theology, he had borne arms against the Pretender in 1745, and four years afterwards arrived in Ireland. Called to Scone, Clenanees, and Cahans, he accepted Cahans, the least desirable of the three places. During his ministry there, he itinerated through many of the surrounding districts, and was the means of establishing several congregations. He was an instructive preacher, and a most energetic pastor. Between his morning and his afternoon services, he was accustomed to examine the young people of his charge on the Scriptures and the Shorter Catechism. It is said that even Roman Catholics were converted by his instrumentality. He published a pamphlet entitled, "A Brief Survey of Some Principles maintained by the General Synod of Ulster, and Practices carried on by several Members thereof." This work gave a clear view of the state of religion in Ulster and had a large sale. The Rev. John Semple replied, and Dr. Clark rejoined in a work entitled, "New Light set in a Clear Light."

But days of trouble were in store for Dr. Clark. Summoned to take the oath of abjuration, he offered to attest his loyalty to the House of Hanover, for which he had fought, by affirming with uplifted hand; but because he refused to kiss the book, and to adopt all the words of the oath, he was fined forty shillings. For a while he was permitted to remain unmolested, but afterwards, on information furnished by Robert Nesbitt, and William Burgess, two elders of the congregation of Ballybay, he was arrested and taken by a strong escort of horse and foot to Monaghan jail. While there he celebrated a marriage and baptized many children. Through an informality in the proceedings connected with his imprisonment, he was at last set at liberty. He remained minister of Cahans till 1764, when, with 300 Presbyterians, he emigrated to America, where he lived for twenty-eight years. On the 26th of December, 1792, he was found dead at his desk with a letter to the people of Cahans before him.

Meanwhile the country had commenced to exhibit signs of social progress, and the towns to grow larger. In 1757, Belfast contained 1,779 houses and 8,549 inhabitants. In 1766 a six days' post was established between that town and Dublin. Post chaises were now employed, but it was long afterwards before mail coaches were introduced. Many of the farm houses were still built of clay, and the roofs of almost all were covered with thatch. It is related that, in 1743, every house in the parish of Comber was thatched except the glebe house and the old house of Ballybeen. But, if the cottages of our forefathers were humble, they were comfortable.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

“For Freedom’s battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding Sire to Son,
Though baffled oft is ever won.”

WHEN the French landed at Carrickfergus, in February, 1760, the Presbyterians immediately flew to arms to defend the King whom they loved, and the Constitution by which they were oppressed. About five thousand Presbyterian volunteers assembled for the protection of Belfast. With them there were no less than thirteen ministers. Yet, notwithstanding this service rendered to the State, the Synod was next year refused a charter for the Widows’ Fund. After George III. succeeded to the throne, in October, 1760, the Synod of Ulster and the Presbytery of Antrim joined in presenting an address to the new Sovereign, that they might appear as one body.

About this period, as a result of a distemper among cattle on the Continent, beef and butter became dear in Ireland, and Irish landlords discovered that they could obtain higher rents for large grazing farms than for small agricultural holdings. Tenants were evicted, and their farms consolidated. Many commons were seized and enclosed, by the landlords, without any reduction made in the rents of those who had hitherto a right to graze their cattle on the lands thus appropriated. Many of the people, driven by hunger to despair, banded together to break down the newly made fences—from which they were termed *Levellers*. Some who wore shirts over their clothing for a disguise were called *Whiteboys*. All the members of these societies were bound by an oath. They went round the country at night, destroying the cattle which grazed on “evicted” farms, and killing their owners, whom they sometimes stripped naked, and with barbarous cruelty, buried alive in pits filled with thorns.

The Whiteboys of the South were Roman Catholics, but high rents, hateful tithes, and landlord oppression caused the Protestants of Ulster to form similar combinations. About 1763, the Hearts of Oak took their rise in County Armagh. The immediate cause of this movement was the imposition of cesses on farmers for making roads to accommodate landlords. At these works, even the poorest householder had to give a certain number of days’ labour every year. The Hearts of Oak soon spread to other districts and continued their outrages. Dr. Clarke, Rector of Clonfeacle, was particularly obnoxious to all the neighbourhood, on account of trying to raise the tithes of his parish from £900 to £1,300 a year. A party of these rioters took him prisoner, placed him on his own coach, and led him about the country amidst the jeers of a furious multitude. Mr.

Verner, agent of Lord Charlemont, when presiding over a sitting of the Charlemont Corporation, was ordered by a mob, who surrounded the place of meeting, to despatch his business as quickly as possible, and come out to be hanged on a gallows which they had erected near the town. As Mr. Verner was somewhat dilatory in obeying, they sent him word that he must be very ill-bred to keep so many gentlemen waiting, and ordered him to come out at once. But he refused, until they threatened to set the house on fire, when he ventured among them, and submitted to his fate. The mob pushed him about and abused him greatly; but, at last, they told him that hanging was too good for him, and sent him away.

Some Episcopalian clergymen fled to Dublin for safety, and this caused the Presbyterians to be aspersed by their enemies as if they had been the authors of these outrages. To free themselves from such accusations, a committee of ministers met to investigate the cause of the outbreak. They discovered that the Oak-boys had first appeared in an uncultivated district of County Armagh, where there was hardly a Presbyterian family, and that, therefore, the movement could not have originated with members of their denomination.

The Hearts of Oak spread from Armagh to other counties, and continued their outrages for some time. At last, before the end of 1763,* they were subdued by soldiers sent from Galway and Clonmel. Viscount Charlemont, received an earldom as a reward for his efforts in quelling this disturbance.

A few years afterwards, other rioters called Hearts of Steel, perpetrated similar outrages. They were all Protestants, and the movement originated in County Antrim, but extended to other counties. On the 6th of March, 1772, they attacked the house of a landlord—Mr. Richard Johnston of Gilford. The Rev. Samuel Morell of Tullylish was shot dead as he stood at a window trying to pacify the assailants. Mr. Johnston got a title and a pension for his reward, but the relatives of Mr. Morell received no compensation. Some Episcopal clergymen were afterwards killed by Roman Catholic rioters called Defenders, and pensions were immediately bestowed by the government on their friends; but the murder of a Presbyterian minister was a matter too trivial to be noticed. The causes which produced these outrages drove many of the young, the strong, and the more daring Presbyterians to America. A few years afterwards these men were most resolute foes of Britain, when the thirteen colonics made good their independence by the sword. The

* Dr. Killen, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* (ii. p. 289), states that the Hearts of Oak were suppressed "a few years" before 1769, which is correct; but he is altogether astray, when in his continuation of Reid, he asserts that, in 1772, Mr. Morell fell a victim to their violence. Dr. Campbell, who was then minister of Armagh, states positively in his MS. history, that Mr. Morell was killed by the Steel Boys.

failure of crops, the poverty of the people* and the oppression of the landlords tended to prevent the growth of the Secession Church for a time.

In 1767 when Lord Townsend came to govern the country,† it was arranged that the Lord Lieutenant should live in Ireland, instead of merely visiting the country occasionally; and, in 1768, an Act was passed limiting the duration of a Parliament to eight years, instead of permitting it to last during the lifetime of the Sovereign. This Act was advantageous to Presbyterians, as it rendered the members more desirous of standing well with their constituents. In 1775, before the friends of Presbyterians were aware, a Bill was passed by which Nonconformists were deprived of the right of voting at vestries, while left liable to the taxes these courts had a right to impose. That Act took its rise in the place which Dr. Campbell calls "The Mother Land of Superstition and Bigotry, the County of Armagh;" but the next year it was repealed.

A time of retribution was now at hand. The English colonists in America refused to pay taxes imposed by the British Parliament in which they had no representatives, and the Government determined to enforce obedience by the sword. Hostilities commenced in 1775, and the most formidable enemies of England were the Presbyterians who had preferred to be freemen in America rather than slaves at home. Afterwards both France and Spain came to the assistance of the United Colonies.

The inhabitants of Belfast, fearing lest they might be attacked by privateers, and being unable to obtain a force sufficient for their protection, formed themselves into an armed association. The whole province of Ulster followed their example, and, before long, the Presbyterians of the North as a body were under arms. Some Episcopalians joined in the movement, but they were only a minority of the rank and file. Although the Volunteers were a Protestant force, who duly celebrated the victory of the Boyne and the relief of Derry, they would sometimes march to mass to show their sympathy for Roman Catholics who suffered the same persecution as themselves.

In 1778, it was proposed to repeal the Test Act, and remove some of the many disabilities under which Roman Catholics laboured, but, when the Bill returned from England, the clause repealing the Test Act was erased, and, in the words of Grattan, "The bait was taken off and the naked hook discovered." The remainder of the Bill, which removed some Roman Catholic disabilities, was passed. Thus relief was given to Papists, and refused to Presbyterians by the Prelatic rulers of the Nation.

When Parliament met next Session, Dissenters complained

* So great was the poverty of the people at this time, that it is said the lower classes of Kelts lived on potatoes and butter-milk during the summer, and on potatoes and water during the winter.

† Dr. Killen is mistaken in supposing that this took place in 1768.

loudly of the manner in which they were treated. With the army abroad, and 40,000 persecuted Presbyterians in arms at home, the Parliament no longer ventured to refuse. A Bill was introduced to repeal the Test. Mr. Grattan, speaking in favour of the proposed measure, said that the Protestant religion was the child of the Constitution, but the Presbyterian its father. The Bill was returned unaltered from England, and was passed unanimously. Thus in 1780, the Test was for ever abolished in Ireland.

Meanwhile the Volunteers increased in numbers and in power. Many Presbyterian ministers acted as chaplains, or even as officers. "The rusty black was exchanged for the glowing scarlet, and the title of Reverend for that of Captain." The Rev. Sinclair Kelburn, of Belfast, came into his church one Sabbath dressed in uniform, accompanied by a large troop of Volunteers. He ascended the pulpit, laid down his musket, and took up the Bible. When he got excited in his sermon, the weapon could be plainly heard rattling against the pulpit door, while the audience often applauded the eloquent passages by striking the floor with the stocks of their guns.

Dr. Campbell, now leader of the Synod, acted as chaplain to the regiment of the Earl of Charlemont. He is quite enthusiastic regarding the benefits conferred on the nation by the force with which he was connected. "The Kingdom of Ireland," says he, "was better governed under the reign of the VOLUNTEERS than it had been under the reign of any of its kings since its fatal connection with England. . . . It was no longer an abject province that stooped under the tyranny of a foreign oppressor, but stepped forth boldly, at once, in the vigour of manhood; and with a correct, steady pace assumed a rank among the nations of Europe, distinguished by magnanimity, by fortitude, generosity, and disinterestedness."

On the 15th of February, 1782, a meeting of delegates, representing 143 corps of Volunteers, was held in the Presbyterian church, Dunganon.* Colonel Irvine presided. The great majority of the

* It is stated by Dr. Killen, Dr. Collier, Dr. Hamilton, and several other historians, that this meeting was held in the Episcopal Church; yet there is not the slightest doubt but the volunteers in 1782, as well as in 1783, and the county delegates in 1793, met in the Presbyterian Church.

When Dr. Morell was ordained minister of Dunganon in 1844, several persons were alive who remembered the three meetings; and these witnesses, he states, unanimously asserted that all of them had been held in the Presbyterian Church. One old man, who had been present himself, could point out the very pews in which had sat many of the more distinguished delegates who attended the first convention. The *Anthologia Hibernica* contained in 1793 a wood-cut of the Presbyterian Church as the place where the volunteers in 1782 held their great meeting. In an article it dwelt on the fact that these three political gatherings were all held in the "Dissenting Meeting-House," and mentioned that this building had been lent to the Quakers for their meetings, and to the Episcopalians when their own Church was undergoing repairs. Dr. Morell and others who remember the old Presbyterian Church have pronounced the

members were Presbyterians. They demanded the independence of the Irish Parliament, and passed a resolution approving of the relaxation of penal laws against Roman Catholics. This resolution was proposed by Captain Pollock, a Presbyterian gentleman, and was seconded by the Rev. Robert Black, then minister of Dromore, Co. Down. It was opposed by only two members, of whom one was the Rev. John Rogers, of Cahans.

With the army abroad, the country at war, and 80,000 Volunteers in arms, the Government had to yield. The Act 6 Geo. I. was repealed by the English Legislature, and Poynings' law by the Irish Parliament, which thereby became supreme, and Ireland a nation. But the Irish legislature was still unreformed, as the landlords had the elective power in their hands. St. Johnston returned as many representatives as County Antrim. Of three hundred members only about seventy were elected by the people; and accordingly, the Episcopal aristocracy, who hated the Presbyterians more than the Papists, were the real governors of the country. So long as the Volunteers remained powerful, that aristocracy ruled in fear, and tempered their tyranny with mercy. But afterwards, when the war was concluded, when the army had returned, when the Volunteers had been disbanded, then the latter state of the country became almost as bad as the first; while the people, having tasted some of the sweets of liberty, were less inclined to submit to a power against which they were unable to contend. If the English Parliament chastised the people with whips, the Irish aristocracy and the Irish Church chastised them with scorpions.

Meanwhile, in 1782, the Irish Parliament passed a bill by which Presbyterian marriages were legalized beyond a doubt, although the Lord Chancellor declared they were already lawful. An Act was also passed to give Seceders permission to swear with uplifted hand, but it excluded them from the right to give evidence in criminal cases, or to hold employments of trust under the Crown. In 1783, a general election took place, and, in spite of landlord influence, Presbyterians were able to return a few members to represent their interests. Rowley and O'Neill were successful in county Antrim, and Jones and Sharman* in Lisburn. But Mr. Robert Stewart was defeated in Down. Some of the Seceders regarded him with suspicion because he was connected with a non-subscribing con-

wood-cut published in the *Anthologia Hibernica*, an exact likeness of that strangely-shaped building.

The Belfast *News-Letter* states positively that the meeting of 1783 was held in the Presbyterian Church; and we find from the *Northern Star* that, in 1793, the county delegates assembled in the same building.

Dr. Hamilton's account of the first meeting is incorrect. He not only adopts the statement that it was held in the Episcopal Church, but represents many of the delegates as arriving by "mail coaches," although there was not at that time a single one of these conveyances in Ulster.

* Colonel Sharman was father of Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P

gregation, and they supported Lord Kilwarlin, son of the Earl of Hillsborough. Their action on this occasion was, in all probability, the reason of their afterwards receiving a grant of Royal Bounty. Dr. Dickson was an active supporter of Mr. Stewart. In his narrative he tells us that, when he brought up forty freeholders in a body to vote, Mr. Stewart's son, Robert, who was afterwards Lord Castlereagh, was so rejoiced that he threw his arms around the neck of the Doctor's horse. That son lived to treat his father's chief supporter with the basest ingratitude.

On the 8th of September, 1783, another great meeting of Volunteers was held in Dungannon Presbyterian Church. About 500 delegates were present to represent 278 companies, and 18,000 men. Colonel James Stewart presided. The Earl of Bristol,* Bishop of Derry, took a prominent part in the proceedings, and fifteen members of parliament were in attendance. The delegates occupied the body of the house, while the galleries were filled with an "amazing crowd of ladies and gentlemen." The Rev. Robert Black, who was soon to be called from Dromore to Londonderry, made by far the best speech which was delivered. Resolutions were passed demanding parliamentary reform, and it was resolved to hold a Convention in Dublin.† This Convention met as appointed. The Bishop of Derry appeared at it in the style of a prince. But the reign of the Volunteers was over. Great Britain had acknowledged the independence of the United States, in November, 1782, and soon afterwards made peace with France and with Spain. The Irish Parliament, sure of being supported by the army, did not now fear to refuse that measure of reform demanded by the Volunteers, whom they had always hated and whom they no longer feared. The Episcopal Aristocracy and the Episcopal Church regained their power, and began once more to lay the foundations of their own destruction.

* The Bishop of Derry could drink a bottle of wine and "swear like a gentleman." He was popular with the county Derry Presbyterian ministers, whom he often invited to his house. On some of these occasions he amused himself by making his own clergy ride races on horseback with their Dissenting brethren. In these contests the Presbyterian ministers, accustomed to equestrian exercise in their toilsome work of visitation, were always victorious.

† It is stated that many of the Volunteer delegates, unable to procure sleeping accommodation in Dungannon, were necessitated to remain all night in the Presbyterian Church,

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REIGN OF THE NEW-LIGHT.

“ To them there truly did belong
The private right of thinking wrong,
And what must always follow still,
The right divine of judging ill.”

MEANWHILE in the Synod of Ulster there was a tendency towards greater laxity. In 1774, the Presbytery of Bangor ordained Mr. Samuel M. Stephenson to the pastoral charge of Greyabbey, although he had refused to subscribe, and that six members had protested against his proposed admission.

An effort was now made to obtain an increase of Royal Bounty, and Dr. Campbell,* who brought the claims of the Church before the Government, was so well received in Dublin that he expected a large addition would be made to the grant. This hope was disappointed, for the increase given amounted to only £1,000 a year. Dr. Campbell felt inclined to reject the gift, but he refrained from that course through the advice of friends. It is said that the Earl of Hillsborough, angry at the support given to Mr. Stewart by the members of Synod, got the proposed grant reduced. At the same time, mindful of the assistance his son had received from the Seceders, he obtained for them £500 a year, which gave their ministers about £13 each—very nearly as much as was now received by the ministers of the Synod of Ulster.

At the meeting of that Synod in 1781, it was stated that the Presbytery of Armagh did not require subscription from candidates for license, and the next year a debate arose on the same question. Dr. Campbell states that there was a private conference between him and Mr. M'Dowell, the leader of the Subscribers. In this conference, Mr. M'Dowell asserted that the chief reason why he insisted on subscription was because certain books circulated by brethren in the North, caused him to think some of them rejected the doctrine of the Trinity. To this Campbell replied, “I have a general acquaintance with our brethren, and I never knew one of

* Dr. Campbell was born in Newry. He was licensed in 1750, and afterwards went abroad with the Bagwells. In Paris he was imprisoned for refusing to kneel before the Host, and he obtained his release with difficulty. He became minister of Antrim, and afterwards of Armagh. He removed to Clonmel in 1789, and remained there until his death in 1805. He published several works, of which one of the best known is, “A Vindication of the Principles and Character of the Presbyterians in Ireland.” He left in manuscript “Sketches of the History of Presbyterians in Ireland,” which was never published, and is now in possession of John Gordon, Esq. To that history I am indebted for many of the facts contained in this volume.

them that did not believe the Trinity; if by that you mean the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as taught in the New Testament, and expressed in what is called the Apostles' Creed. In this you and they do all agree. But if you mean the Metaphysical doctrine of the Trinity, then I will acknowledge that there is indeed a great variety of opinion. And I assert that this variety prevails as much among you who call yourselves orthodox, as among those you would pretend to censure. . . . Will you censure one another? or will you be inclined to show indulgence?"

To this question Mr. McDowell did not return any reply, but the same day he moved a resolution which involved a compromise, and was recorded in the following minute: "That, if no one move for a repeal of the rule regarding subscription, then the rule shall remain in its full force; and as no one moved for its repeal the rule continued." On reading the minutes next year, Dr. Campbell objected to the words "full force," and the words "as usual" were inserted in their place. But even this did not satisfy all parties, and, in 1784, it was agreed that the words of the minute stand—"that the rule respecting subscription is *unrepealed*." Dr. Campbell thinks that a great victory was gained for the Non-Subscribers, and says, "Thus a debate which was introduced with a view of enforcing subscription, was so managed as to end in a virtual repeal of it. For by the declaration of Synod, it was referred to the judgment and discretion of each Presbytery to use, or to lay it aside, as they should think fit. In this manner, after 78 years, subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith was thrown back to the Presbyteries from whence it came."

It seems strange that a resolution not to repeal a law enforcing subscription, should be considered a victory by Dr. Campbell and his followers. But, certainly, the result was to leave the question of subscription to the Presbyteries, some of which carried out the law of the Synod, while others were exceedingly lax. This was, however, in accordance with a principle held by Dr. Campbell, who contended that the essence of Presbyterian Church government was the supremacy of the Presbytery, and not of the Synod.

The Rev. Benjamin McDowell, of Dublin, was now leader of the Orthodox party. Born in America, he studied in Princeton and in Glasgow. He was ordained minister of Ballykelly in 1766, and, in 1778, removed to Dublin. He became distinguished as a writer and speaker. He had a controversy with the Rev. John Cameron,* of Dunluce, in which he maintained that Creeds, confined to the essential and most important principles of Christianity, are "reasonable, useful, necessary, and of Divine Original."

There were then but few ministers of evangelical sentiments in the Synod of Ulster, and the spirit of true religion was kept alive by the Seceders who appealed to the judgment as strongly as the Methodists to the emotions. But at this period men really desired to know what the Bible taught, and the Seceders made progress.

* Mr. Cameron was author of an Epic poem entitled "The Messiah."

The fear of their opposition often caused the heterodox ministers of the Synod to keep their peculiar opinions concealed, and the influence of the Secession preachers tended to confirm the people in their old principles.

The Episcopal Church was now in a much worse condition than the Synod of Ulster. The Synod, although broad in its theology, was strict in its morals, and lax theology was confined almost altogether to the clergy. But the Episcopal Church was unsound in its doctrine as well as corrupt in its morals. And that lax morality was encouraged by the bishops. The Rev. Edward Smith, of Ballyculter, was deprived of his cure because he warned a nobleman against partaking of the communion when living in adultery. Yet the bishop of the same diocese suffered another minister to go unreproved when there were nine witnesses ready to testify on oath that he was guilty of "frequent drunkenness, even during service, cursing and damning his parishioners, beating his wife, absenting himself from his church even for many Sabbath-days together, and total neglect of every occasional duty."

On the 14th of October, 1778, the Burgher Presbytery of Monaghan met at Derryfubble to ordain Mr. David Holmes to the pastoral charge of the Presbyterians living at English and Ballymagraue.* On the evening of the same day, a conference, at which twelve ministers were present, was held to arrange for forming the three Irish Burgher Presbyteries into a Synod. After some further negotiation, this was accomplished, and the first Irish Burgher Synod was constituted at Monaghan on the 20th of October, 1779. It consisted of twenty ministers, and did not regard itself as in any way under the authority of the Scottish Church. Conferences were now held between the two parties of Seceders in Ireland with a view to union, but the Scottish Synod, to which the Antiburghers owned submission, condemned these proceedings, and the negotiations terminated.

In August, 1788, the four Antiburgher Presbyteries, which had then seventeen congregations under their care, met at Belfast and formed themselves into a Synod, which still acknowledged the authority of the Church in Scotland.

The Reformed Presbyterians now began to make progress. They denounced the Seceders as severely for accepting of the Royal Bounty as the Seceders denounced the Synod of Ulster for their heterodoxy. The Rev. John Rogers, Secession minister of Cahans,† had a public discussion with Mr. James M'Garraugh, a licentiate of the Reformed Presbyterians, on the question of whether any authority should be acknowledged except that of a covenanting king. Both disputants were eloquent, and the followers of each claimed the victory for their own champion.

* MS. Minutes of Secession Presbytery of Monaghan.

† Mr. Rogers was father of the Rev. John Rogers, of Glascar, and great grandfather of Dr. Wm. Rogers, of Whiteabbey.

As students intended for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church had still to go to Scotland for their education, Dr. Campbell, in a manuscript addressed to the Right Hon. Hussey Burgh, in 1782, proposed the establishment of a Presbyterian university in Ulster. Dr. Campbell believed that the lands of the five free schools in Ulster, if judiciously managed, might support the same number of schools and the proposed university besides. The negotiations on this matter went on for a considerable period, but failed to produce any satisfactory result.

About 1785, the Rev. William Crawford of Strabane founded an academy, in which, assisted by three "professors," he taught languages, philosophy, and theology. This seminary was recognised by the Synod, and was a means of training several candidates for the ministry.*

A special meeting of the Synod was held at Dungannon in 1788 to appoint an agent for the Royal Bounty. The chief candidates were Dr. Campbell and the Rev. Robert Black. Mr. Black was distinguished as an orator, but had not yet rendered his church any valuable service. The presbyteries around Derry were very fully represented on this occasion, and Dr. Campbell was defeated by a large majority. Stung by the insult, and disgusted by the ingratitude shown for his services of the past, he soon afterwards accepted of a call to Clonmel, where the Bagwells resided; and he ended his days in the South.

A general election took place in 1790. The poll in County Down lasted sixty-nine days, and cost Lord Londonderry, father of the Hon. Robert Stewart,* the immense sum of sixty thousand pounds. The Rev. William Steel Dickson was a warm supporter of Mr. Stewart, and he thus describes his exertions: "I was on horseback almost every day; and seldom slept in my own house at night. In fact, I rode one horse nearly to death, reduced another to half his value, and expended above £50, part of which I was obliged to borrow."†

Mr. Stewart succeeded in winning the second seat. The numbers were:—The Earl of Hillsborough, 3,529; the Hon. R.

* The Rev. James Houston of Ballindrait received his training in this seminary. Mr. Houston was descended from James Houston, a celebrated marksman, who killed the standard-bearer of King James as His Majesty approached the walls of Londonderry. Mr. Houston's son, Christopher, a boy of nine years old, was with him during the siege. That boy, afterwards, became the father of three sons; one of these was the grandfather of the Rev. James Houston of Ballindrait; another was grandfather of Messrs. Ross Houston, Edergole, James Houston, Lifford, and Patrick Houston, Beragh; and the third was father of the great grandfather of the Rev. John Houston, Ballynahatty.

* Afterwards Lord Castlereagh.

† Dr. Killen, in quoting this passage, forgot to compare it with errata at beginning of volume.

Stewart, 3,114; the Hon. Edward Ward, 2,980; G. Matthews, Esq., 2,219. Mr. Stewart was supported by the Presbyterians generally, who were then more under the influence of their church, and less under the influence of organisations directed by their enemies than at present.

The Society of United Irishmen was founded in 1791, at Belfast, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, Thomas Russell, and Samuel Nelson, in order to join together all classes and creeds of Irishmen to obtain Parliamentary reform. At first the society aimed at accomplishing a desirable object by legitimate methods; but before very long both its character and its aspirations became entirely changed.

On the 11th of February, 1792, Colonel Stewart of Killymoon carried a motion in the House of Commons for an increase of Bounty; but previously, on the 21st of January, this action had been anticipated by a King's letter making a grant of an additional £5,000* a-year. There were now 185 ministers belonging to the Synod of Ulster and the Presbytery of Antrim; 46 to the Seceders; and 16 to the Southern Association. The new grant was made to these bodies in proportion to the number of their ministers, each of whom received an addition of £20 a-year, which raised to about £32 the amount payable to each minister of the Synod of Ulster. This body now passed votes of thanks to all who assisted in obtaining the grant. They gave Mr. Black £100, and Colonel Stewart a service of plate. At this time the Synod began to question the right of the Southern ministers to appropriate the whole of Queen Anne's Bounty of £800 a-year, and succeeded in getting one-half of it for the Widows' Fund. In 1794 it was decided that when a minister had an assistant, the senior minister should enjoy the Bounty during his life.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church began now to make considerable progress, and, in 1792, their first presbytery was organised. One of their ministers—the Rev. William Stavelly—was, it is said, instrumental in establishing about twelve congregations. But, notwithstanding the progress made by them and the Seceders, the state of religion in Ireland seemed to grow worse.

On the 15th of February, 1793, an Ulster Convention of county delegates, promoted by the United Irishmen, was held in Dungannon Presbyterian Church, under the presidency of William Sharman. They demanded a “fair and rational” representation of the people without distinction of creed or class by elections frequently repeated. Although this Convention passed a resolution condemning republican government, Mr. Joseph Pollock, a delegate from Newry, in a letter published at the time, declared that such a strong spirit of republicanism was now exhibited as justified “a degree of apprehension for the consequences.”

* Not £500, as stated by Witherow (*Presbyterian Memorials* II., p. 268).

The reaction which took place after the French revolution, had a tendency to prevent that Parliamentary reform which Grattan had struggled to obtain, but which the landlord oligarchy feared to grant, lest they might thereby bestow away their power for ever. In 1793, an Act was passed by which Roman Catholics were exempted from fines for non-attendance on public worship in the Episcopal churches; were declared capable of holding all the ordinary places of trust and profit under the Crown; and were admitted to the elective franchise. But as only very few of them were freeholders entitled to vote, the franchise did not add much to their influence. They were still excluded from the higher Government offices and from Parliament. In 1795, they received a large grant for a college which was placed at Maynooth. Mr. Stewart now made another effort to obtain a similar grant for a Presbyterian college which it was proposed to erect at Cookstown. This scheme was countenanced by Earl Fitzwilliam when Lord Lieutenant, but he was soon recalled, and the idea was not carried out by his successor.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A TIME OF TYRANNY.

“Each new morn,
New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows
Strike Heaven on the face.”

MEANWHILE the country was in a state of most alarming confusion. The reign of the Volunteers had for ever terminated. The British Government, upheld by the military power of the army and the political power of the aristocracy, was supreme. The Government was supported in its tyranny by the landlords, and the landlords were supported in their oppression by the Government. The aristocracy prevented Parliamentary reform, and the unreformed Parliament failed to redress grievances until too late. There were then no large cities to counteract the power of landed proprietors. The counties returned 64 members, the more considerable towns and villages returned about the same number, but by a system of election which gave the people little power; while upwards of 170 members were nominated by the aristocracy for the “rotten

boroughs.”* The Irish Parliament was therefore entirely devoted to the interests of the Episcopal landlords, and when it was no longer controlled by the bayonets of the volunteers, failed to take into consideration the wants of the nation. Thus the landlord and the rector had legal power to take away the result of his labour from the Presbyterian farmer, who had to toil on without reward for the past or hope for the future.

A common desire for relief from a common tyranny caused the Irish farmers, without distinction of race or religion, to enter into various combinations to protect themselves from oppression. The Society of United Irishmen had been already formed to promote parliamentary reform. The aristocracy, dreading the results of a union between Saxon and Kelt, tried to turn the attention of Presbyterian farmers from their civil and religious bondage, and stir up their hatred against the Roman Catholics, who suffered from the same laws. For that purpose various societies of rioters were encouraged to attack one another.

The Peep of Day Boys were Protestants who visited the houses of their victims early in the morning, deprived the Roman Catholics of their arms, and in some instances drove them out of Ulster. The Defenders were Roman Catholics who asserted that they took up arms to protect themselves against the attacks of the Peep of Day Boys. They had their origin in County Armagh, and were at first encouraged by the Episcopal magistrates, in order to maintain the power of the aristocracy by rekindling the flames of religious discord among the people. The grand jury threw out “every indictment indiscriminately that was brought against them, and found all those they preferred against Protestants.” “A Presbyterian, Mr. D., a man of respectable character, was murdered by the Defenders in Newtownhamilton. With difficulty, a magistrate was induced. . . to take the examinations of the dying man. The murderer was brought to trial and found guilty, but, upon the pretence of a petition from some obscure names, in another part of the country, he was immediately pardoned by the Government.”† Encouraged by immunity from punishment so long as they murdered only Presbyterians, the Defenders made an attack on the house of an Episcopal clergyman. By this they lost favour with the Government, and were afterwards punished when convicted.

There was then no police force in Ireland, and military stations being distant from one another, the rival mobs had many opportunities of coming into contact. On the 21st of September, 1795, a regular

* Almost every burgess in these boroughs was a relation or a dependent tenant of the landlord, and strict precaution was taken to make each obedient to his lord and master. For example, when Mr. Daniel Jackson was, in 1750, elected a burgess of Charlemont, he was sworn to vote in the Corporation at all times “agreeable to the orders” of Lord Charlemont, or of the person to whom he had committed the care of his borough.

† Campbell's MS.

battle was fought at the Diamond, near Loughgall, between the Peep of Day Boys, assisted by some of their friends, and a large body of Defenders. The Protestants, although greatly outnumbered, put the Roman Catholics to headlong flight, killing forty-eight, and wounding many more. Not a single Protestant was slain in the encounter, but several were wounded. Notices were now posted by the victors, ordering the Catholics to go to either "Hell or Connaught," and about 7,000 of these unfortunate individuals were driven out of the district.

Although we find traces of the Orange Society before this period, its regular organization dates from the battle of the Diamond. On the night after that conflict, the first Orange lodge was formed, and the society soon became powerful. The hatred which the lower classes of Protestants bore to their Roman Catholic neighbours made them eager to join the new association; and that hatred became a powerful instrument in the hands of the Episcopal landlords for maintaining their own rights, and for oppressing the very people by whose religious enthusiasm they maintained their power.

A majority of the first Orangemen were Episcopalians; but Dr. Killen is mistaken in denying that any of them were Presbyterians. One of the first lodges formed—a lodge which prides itself on possessing the proud designation of Number One—was started by James Wilson, of Dyan, who had fought at the Diamond. The first master J. Irwin, the second master Samuel Cooper, and Wilson himself, the leading spirit, were all Presbyterians. There were Presbyterians in the Oona Bridge lodge, and in several of the others first formed. But most of these Presbyterians belonged to the class of agricultural labourers or country tradesmen.

At the same time the Society of United Irishmen made rapid progress. Those Protestants who hated the Catholic more than the landlord became Orangemen, and those who hated the landlord more than the Catholic became United Irishmen. But as the latter organisation grew in numbers, they became extreme in their objects and aims. Many of them imbibed the political and religious principles of the French Revolutionists, and, thinking that a mere Parliamentary reform would not satisfy the political aspirations of the country, aimed at establishing an Independent Irish Republic. Russell, Tone, and several of their companions went one day in 1795 to the top of M'Art's Fort, on Cave Hill, and there, with uplifted hands, swore never to rest until Ireland had gained her freedom. The United Irishmen were joined by not only Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, but even by Episcopalians, who, although they had no religious grievances, were ready for rebellion on account of high rents and landlord tyranny. To this denomination belonged Monroe, Tandy, Russell, Tone, Jackson, and most of the other leaders. A large majority of the Protestant population sympathised with the United Irishmen, although they stood aloof from their society. They were ready to reap the fruits of their victory if successful, and hoped to escape punishment if they were defeated.

The Government now became alarmed. They passed an Insurrection Act and an Act of Indemnity, by which measures, magistrates were enabled to exercise almost despotic authority, and to escape the consequences of inflicting illegal punishments. Military officers were put into the commission of the peace, and a regular reign of terror prevailed. Many innocent men were imprisoned, or tortured, or put to death. It is recorded that Thomas Clark of Swateragh, by order of Lord Cavan, received 500 lashes for "disorderly practices," and that he died a few days afterwards in jail from poison, as stated by the authorities. Everywhere the soldiers with impunity inflicted most terrible outrages on many against whom nothing could be proven, and the Government seemed determined, by the pitch cap, the lash, and other horrid implements of torture, to drive the people to rebellion.

In May 1794, a meeting of the Dublin United Irishmen was broken up by military force, and their papers seized. The society then became secret, and its members increased as the measures of the Government became more arbitrary. It is said that 500,000 men took the test—only a small proportion of whom were properly armed. But, depending on assistance from the French Republic now at war with Britain, it was determined to organise a rebellion. In December, 1796, a large French expedition sailed for Ireland, but dispersed by the winds and the waves, it accomplished nothing.

The *Northern Star* was the organ of the Belfast United Irishmen. In this paper appeared "Billy Bluff and Squire Firebrand"—a series of letters written by the Rev. James Porter of Greyabbey. The *Star* was, however, suppressed by the Government, and the reign of terror continued.

At last, the people, driven to madness, rose in rebellion. The Insurrection broke out on the 23rd of May, 1798; but the Government were well prepared, as they had learned everything from spies. The rebels, however, met with some success at first, but were afterwards defeated with great slaughter at Vinegar Hill. They had then among them many Protestant prisoners, of whom some had favoured the movement. These all, without trial, both friends and enemies, were shot, or transfixed with pikes, or put to death in ways still more barbarous. At Scullabogue, a large number of Protestants were burned to death in a barn. The rebels stood all around, and, with their pikes, forced into the flames anyone who tried to escape. Even a little child who got out was cast back as well as the others. These outrages had great effect on public feeling in the North. Presbyterians began to think it better to bear the oppression of the rectors and the landlords than to be piked by the Papists. Even Bagenal Harvey, a Protestant leader of the Southern insurgents, said that he now saw his folly, for if the rebels had succeeded, he would have been murdered by them himself. Thus the tide of politics began to run rapidly in the direction of Toryism, and, for years, the landlords retarded the progress of reform.

The rising in Ulster was delayed on account of the arrest of Dr. Dickson and other leaders. At last, on the 7th June, Henry Joy

M'Cracken with a large party made an attack on the town of Antrim. The Rebels, at first, were successful. Lord O'Neill and about fifty of his soldiers were killed. Just then the British received strong reinforcements; the rebels were defeated; and, before long, M'Cracken was captured and executed.

In County Down, there were two or three engagements. Near Saintfield, the royal troops fell into an ambuscade, but rallying, they succeeded in repelling their assailants. Hearing that there was a large body of insurgents near Ballinahinch, they marched in that direction, burning, robbing, and plundering, and often torturing their prisoners.

At Portaferry, an attack of the Rebels was defeated; but the chief struggle was at Ballinahinch. The battle began at 6 o'clock on the evening of the 12th of June. General Nugent, the British commander, after a sharp engagement and considerable loss, got possession of the Windmill Hill where a detachment of the insurgents was posted; but their main body was unbroken when night closed the conflict. Next day Munroe led on the rebels in two divisions to attack the royal forces. They drove back the Monaghan militia in disorder. They rushed up to the very cannons, and it seemed as if they would carry all before them. But the royal troops, kept steady by discipline, returned to the charge, drove the insurgents up the hill and soon scattered them in flight. Saintfield and Ballinahinch were burned by the soldiers. Munroe was captured, tried by court martial, and executed before his own door, in presence of his wife and mother. A young girl named Betsy Gray, who had gone into the battle with her sweetheart and brother, was overtaken in the flight and barbarously slain. A man named Jack Gill, cut off her hand with his sword, and one Thomas Nelson, shot her through the eye.

“Now woe be on thee Anahilt!

And woe be on the day,

When brother, lover, both were slain.

And with them Bessie Gray!”

But the most illustrious victim of tyranny at this period was the Rev. James Porter. Mr. Porter was a native of Ballindrait, County Donegal. He studied at Glasgow, and, in 1787, was ordained minister of Greyabbey. He was an accomplished scholar, a persuasive orator, an eloquent preacher, and a witty, humorous, and sarcastic writer. Like Dr. Dickson, he was a member of the New-Light party, and he inclined to propagate his political rather than his religious principles. His letters entitled *Billy Bluff* and *Squire Firebrand*, first published in the *Northern Star*, present a true picture of the relations then prevailing in Ulster between landlord and tenant, and are full of withering sarcasm directed against Lord Londonderry, who never forgave the insult, and who had soon the opportunity of obtaining his revenge. Mr. Porter never joined the society of United Irishmen, or committed any crime worthy of death or of bonds. But, a base informer falsely swore that he was

present when the mail from Belfast to Saintfield was captured by the insurgents. The boy in charge of the bags failed to identify the accused; yet, on the unsupported evidence of a perjured renegade, paid for swearing away his life, Mr. Porter was condemned by a military tribunal, and sentenced to be hanged.

His afflicted wife, aware that Lord Londonderry had power to prevent executions, obtained an interview with His Lordship's daughters, who had often in happier days attended her husband's scientific lectures. One of these ladies, then in delicate health, and soon to be numbered with the dead, tried with tears to persuade her father to grant Mr. Porter a reprieve. But all was in vain. The wound inflicted by *Billy Bluff* was too deep to be healed by the tears of a dying daughter. Lord Londonderry refused her request, and permitted a clergyman of his own church to be punished by death for a crime of which he was innocent. The young lady, greatly distressed, conveyed the sad news to Mrs. Porter, and Mrs. Porter to her husband, who remarked, "Then, my dear, I shall sleep at home to-night." A scaffold was erected on a rising ground midway between the manse and the meeting-house, and there, on the 2nd of July, 1798, James Porter paid the penalty of a crime he never committed, in order that the private spleen of a petty tyrant might be gratified. Although Mr. Porter was then regarded as a rebel, he asked much less than we afterwards obtained by methods that were strictly legal. In the words of my friend Dr. Kinnear, "He was hanged in 1798 for demanding what we are now praised and even rewarded for securing."

Dr. Dickson was much more deeply implicated than Mr. Porter; but there was no legal proof of his guilt, and those into whose hands he fell, hesitated to commit a judicial murder. But he was kept in vile prisons for three years and seven months. The greater part of that time was spent in Fort-George, Scotland, where there were in confinement twenty leaders of the United Irishmen. Of these, four were Roman Catholics, six Presbyterians, and ten Episcopalians.

Dr. Dickson's enemies in the Synod failed to get him suspended from the office of the ministry; but, by a small majority, they succeeded in depriving him of his interest in the Widows' Fund, on the plea that his imprisonment in Scotland brought him under a rule which prevented *ministers leaving this kingdom* from retaining their connection with the fund.

After the insurrection was quelled, the Government acted with the greatest cruelty. Many innocent persons were murdered by the military without trial. Some fled to America, and others remained concealed at home. Although the Synod sympathised with the people in their oppression, they condemned every act of rebellion, and a majority of the Presbyterians were obedient to their church. This was especially the case in districts where there was a large Roman Catholic population. It was only in localities where there were few Catholics that many Protestants became rebels. Mr. Buchanan of Omagh gave the Government a list of six thousand Presbyterians in his district, prepared to take up arms against the

United Irishmen. This must have represented almost all the able-bodied men of that denomination within the bounds of the present Presbytery of Omagh. I remember myself often questioning old people with regard to parties who were identified with the United Irishmen in that locality, and I was able to find the names of but very few Protestants there who had been connected with the society in question. It is the same in the district between Dungannon and Caledon. When I was ordained minister of Eglish in 1872, one of the members was an old man of ninety-six, vigorous for his years, who had served in the cavalry against the rebels. He informed me that, between Dungannon and Caledon, there had been but few United Irishmen among the Protestants.

Mr. Porter was the only minister, and Mr. Archibald Warwick the only licentiate who suffered capital punishment. The Rev. James Simpson, of Newtownards; the Rev. John Glendy, of Maghera; and the Rev. Thomas L. Birch, of Saintfield, emigrated to America. About eighteen in all were charged with being more or less connected with the United Irishmen. None of the Secession ministers was implicated; and some of them got into trouble by their opposition to the conspirators in their own congregations. For this reason the Rev. Francis Pringle had to resign charge of Gilnahirk. His congregation being situated in a district entirely Protestant, the revolutionary principles of his people were not modified by fear of Roman Catholicism.

But even in Protestant districts, there was soon a reaction against the principles of the United Irishmen. Four generations had come and gone since the massacre of 1641, which was then almost forgotten; but fresh massacres in the South again roused the fears and excited the anger of the sturdy Ulster Protestants. Better, thought they, be ruled by the landlords, who took only part of their property, than by the Papists, who demanded both their farms and their lives. Better bear Episcopacy, which exacted only the payment of tithes, than Popery, which threw children into the flames. Accordingly the reaction was swift and powerful. The sons of men who carried pikes at Ballinahinch to overthrow the rector and the landlord, now joined the Orange Society, which supported them both.

That society was managed as a military system. Orders sent from the rulers above, were obeyed by the ranks below. These ranks were animated by a most enthusiastic attachment to the principles of Protestantism, and their great object was to maintain those principles, and keep the Roman Catholic majority from acquiring supremacy. On the other hand, the landlord leaders, while caring little for the distinctive doctrines of Protestantism, pretended to be animated by an enthusiasm for them which they did not feel; and they used the Orange organisation to preserve their political power, and enable them, by continually raising their rents, to confiscate the earnings of the very men by whom their authority was maintained. And, as Episcopacy lent its power to the landlords, the landlords lent their power to Episcopacy, by inducing their

tenants to conform to its worship. Many Presbyterian members of the Orange Society were joined to it by a bond much stronger than what united them to their Church. To that Society they gave the energy which their fathers gave to Presbyterianism. Some of the poorer Presbyterian Orangemen, neglected by their own ministers because they did not pay stipend, and their minds not filled with the principles of their Church, were carried, by the influence of their leaders, over to Episcopacy.*

A similar result was produced by the religious liberalism of the Non-Subscribers. The ministers of that party despised definite doctrines. Their people soon ceased to value the distinctive principles of Presbyterianism which they had never been taught; and it was not to be expected that they would long endure persecution for sake of what they either despised or failed to understand. They also often passed over to the Episcopal Church, in which they reaped many social and pecuniary advantages. Thus religious liberalism produced religious superstition and political tyranny.

The Synod of 1798 did not meet till August. Just at this time the French General Humbert was conducting a campaign in the West. He landed at Killala with about 1,000 men, and overthrew the British at Castlebar; but, on the 8th of September, he was entirely defeated by Lake, and his army taken prisoners. The Synod voted the Government £500 as a contribution for defence of the Kingdom. They expressed their "grief and indignation" at the treasonable practices of some Presbyterians. They issued a pastoral condemning disloyalty and expressing their satisfaction that the great majority of their people were free from what they condemned.

After Dr. Dickson was discharged from prison, he was chosen minister of 2nd Keady, but the Government refused to admit him to a share of Royal Bounty. For years, he lived in great poverty, and, at last, on the 27th of June, 1815, had to resign his charge through infirmity. He afterwards lived in Belfast on a small allowance contributed by friends. He died on the 27th of December, 1824, and his remains were consigned to a pauper's grave, where not even a stone marks his final resting place. For the space of eighteen years before the great Rebellion he had possessed the friendship and esteem of the highest in the land, but as a result of taking that political course which he honestly thought best for his creed and his country, he was cast out of society, forgotten by his friends, and treated with injustice by the Church for which he had suffered.

The Government now determined to effect a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. But so unpopular was the proposal that seven hundred thousand people petitioned against it, while only seven thousand declared in its favour. The Presbyterians of Down were as much opposed to the measure as the

* The Orange Society has in late years become in many respects different from what it was formerly, being less under its leaders, and more favourable to Presbyterianism.

Catholics of Cork. But the Government accomplished their purpose by purchasing the support of those landlords who "owned" the boroughs at the rate of £15,000 for each seat; and, in addition, paying large sums to the representatives themselves. Every class and creed who had grievances were promised the remedies they desired. A majority was thus obtained for the Bill; and since the 1st of January, 1801, Ireland and Great Britain have been ruled by a common Parliament. With the union of Parliaments, there was a union of the Established Churches, whose doctrine, government, and worship were to remain in force for ever.

A promise of increasing the Royal Bounty was among the numerous promises made to secure the Act of Union; and, strange to say, it was kept. Probably it was done through hope of securing the loyalty of Presbyterians by rendering their clergymen more dependant on the Government. Lord Castlereagh was now Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and he may have had some lingering love for that Church, into the membership of which he had been himself baptized by Dr. Moody of Dublin. Or he may have still remembered the assistance given by Presbyterians to his father, in 1783, and to himself seven years afterwards. This supposition is favoured by the fact that no increase was given to the Seceders, who, in 1783, supported the rivals of the House of Stewart. Whatever may have been Lord Castlereagh's feelings, the grant was given by the Government as a political bribe, and they resolved that it should be divided according to a system of classification by which the large and wealthy congregations would receive more than those which were small and poor. This system was considered very objectionable by the Synod; and, in 1800, they ordered Mr. Bankhead, the Moderator, and Dr. Birch, of Ballybeen, to present a letter to Lord Castlereagh expressing a strong desire "that whatever addition the wisdom and liberality of Government should be pleased to make to the present bounty, might be conferred on terms similar to those on which former grants had been enjoyed," and requesting his lordship's "active exertions" in promoting their wishes. But the Government positively refused to bestow an increase except on the principle they proposed; and the Synod, in 1803, were forced to yield to the conditions they had so strongly opposed. The 186* ministerial charges belonging to the Synod and the Presbytery of Antrim were divided into three classes, equal in numbers. Each minister of the first class received £100, of the second class £75, and of the third £50 a year, Irish currency. The agent, Dr. Black, got £400, and the clerk £50 a year. After making these payments, any

* There were then 183 congregations belonging to these bodies; but the three "collegiate" charges of Derry, Mary's Abbey, Dublin, and Usher's Quay, Dublin, were each regarded as two congregations. Dr. Killen is astray in classing First Belfast among the collegiate charges, as the refusal of Dr. Bruce, who was then its sole minister, to furnish a return of his stipend, prevented for a time the recognition of the right of his congregation to a double share of the Bounty.

balance which remained "unapplied from temporary vacancies" was given to the Widows' Fund. The grant was made subject to a Parliamentary vote, the agent was to be appointed by the Government, and every minister, when ordained or installed, was to take the oath of allegiance. The Irish Presbyterian clergymen now received each a definite sum which the increase of congregations no longer diminished. Accordingly, we find that the work of Church extension, retarded in the past—just as it is in our own time—began before many years to make satisfactory progress. But the newly-erected congregations had sometimes to wait a considerable period before they were placed on the list of those receiving the Royal Bounty. The Southern Association obtained an increased grant on a more liberal scale of classification. Their 16 congregations were divided into three classes, and their ministers received £100, £75, and £60 a year respectively.

In 1809, on the recommendation of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, the Seceders were offered an augmentation of their Bounty on the principle of classification. But that principle had been so bitterly condemned by them when accepted by the Synod of Ulster, that they hesitated to take the proposed increase, when accompanied by such hateful conditions. The Anti-Burghers, at first, absolutely declined the gift; but, eventually, both bodies consented to do themselves what they had condemned when done by others. Their 91 congregations were divided into three classes, which received £70, £50, and £40 respectively. One minister alone—the Rev. James Bryce—held out in his refusal, and, having withdrawn from the Secession Church, founded a denomination which is now known as the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Ireland.

Meanwhile the Presbytery of Antrim and the Synod of Ulster had drawn closely together. The ministers of these bodies, educated at the same colleges, differed but little in religious belief. The Presbytery of Antrim sat, deliberated, and sometimes even voted at the meetings of Synod; and in almost every respect the two bodies seemed to form one religious denomination. But, when the Synod began to increase the number of its congregations, the Presbytery remained stationary, as its ministers failed to excite either enthusiasm springing from belief in positive dogmas, or enthusiasm springing from excitement of the will.

In 1802 it was determined that elders would be permitted to vote on all questions except "those relating to the distribution of Royal Bounty and Widows' Fund." Next year it was enacted that every minister might celebrate marriages upon due proclamation of the banns *one* Lord's Day, and the following year proclamation was made optional. It is somewhat strange that, notwithstanding the poverty of Presbyterian clergymen in the past, they had made no attempt to obtain marriage fees. One of the charges brought against David Houston was that he accepted of such remuneration. Even so late as 1804 it was passed unanimously, "That no minister of this Synod shall, on any account whatever, demand or exact money for

celebrating marriage, or commute proclamation for money." This seems an indication that the rule was somewhat relaxed, money was not to be *demanded* but might be taken if offered.

CHAPTER XXX.

A RELIGIOUS REVIVAL.

"I remember, I remember, the second sermon o'er,
We turned our faces once again to our paternal door,
And round the well-filled ample board sat no reluctant guest,
For exercise gave appetite, and loved ones shared the feast.
Then ere the sunset hour arrived, as we were wont to do,
The Catechism's well-conned page; we said it through and through;
And childhood's faltering tongue was heard to lisp the holy word,
And older voices read aloud the message of the Lord."

THE Seventeenth Century was a time of religious earnestness, the Eighteenth a time of religious reaction; with the Nineteenth came another period of earnestness, and now in the last years of that century we can ourselves see indications that another period of religious deadness is fast approaching.

The Rev. Samuel Hanna,* ordained in 1795, and the Rev. Booth Caldwell, ordained in 1797, became leaders of an orthodox party in the Synod. In 1798, an Evangelical Society was formed at Armagh with the object of establishing a system of itinerant preaching. The Rev. Alexander Carson, of Tobermore, a minister of the Synod of Ulster, was one of its leading members. But it was managed chiefly by Seceders, although condemned by both Burghers and Anti-Burghers. As a result of this condemnation, the Rev. John Gibson, of Richhill, and the Rev. George Hamilton, of Armagh, became ministers of Independent congregations. Mr. Carson first joined the Independents, and afterwards the Baptists. This evangelical movement was a step in the development of that tendency to appeal to the emotions rather than instruct the understanding, which, during the present century, has been so productive of little sects that divide Ulster Protestantism and injure the cause of religion. These sects all spring from enthusiasm, and their first adherents are almost as fanatical as ever were the Quakers or

*Dr. Hanna was born near Ballymena. His first charge was Drumbo, from which he removed to Rosemary Street, in 1799. He was appointed Professor in 1817, and died in 1852. The Rev. William Hanna, D.D., LL.D., son-in-law, and biographer of Chalmers, was one of his sons.

“Wild Moravians.” Then comes their period of organisation, and, lastly, when their enthusiasm has died out, they are guided by convention as the other sects. But some of them, such as the Salvation Army, adopt an organisation calculated to prolong the period of enthusiasm.

The Synod of Ulster in 1805 passed a law prohibiting preachers who were neither ministers nor licentiates of the Synod, the Presbytery of Antrim, the Southern Association or the Church of Scotland, from officiating in their congregations until approved by the Presbytery. But next year the rule was so modified as to give evangelical ministers of all denominations a privilege similar to that given to other Presbyterian clergymen.

The disputes which had arisen concerning the principle of classification by which the Bounty was now distributed were a means of increasing the number of the Covenanters, who would not accept of any endowment from a Government which they condemned as unscriptural. Their congregations now became so numerous that a Synod was constituted, which met on the 1st of May, 1811, at Cullybackey.

An effort was made in 1807, by the Synod of Ulster, to provide, at a cheap rate, copies of the Scriptures for poor Presbyterians. Upwards of £1,700 were collected for this purpose, and nearly 11,000 Bibles or Testaments distributed. Hitherto there had been very few Sunday Schools in Ireland. Presbyterian parents instructed their children at home on Sabbath evenings. Ministers examined the young people of their congregations in the interval between the morning and afternoon services on the Lord's Day, or catechized the children of a certain district met together in a farmer's house. In 1809 the “Sunday School Society for Ireland” was established on non-sectarian principles. In that year there were only about 80 Sabbath Schools in all Ireland. Fourteen years afterwards, the new society had 1,519 schools and 149,782 scholars under its care, and these numbers gradually increased.

In 1809, the Rev. Josiah Ker, of Ballee, was suspended from the office of the ministry. While still under suspension, he admitted holding Unitarian principles. Notwithstanding this admission, the Synod of 1810 passed a resolution, that he should be reinstated in his charge if he polled a Synodical majority of the congregation. Five members dissented from this decision, and, at the next meeting, twelve more joined with them in a protest which was entered on the minutes. Notwithstanding the favour shown to Mr. Ker, signs of a religious reaction became, year by year, more plain and positive. The revival was seen first soon after the French Revolution, but from the Rebellion of 1798 its tide rolled onwards with redoubled rapidity. The Presbyterian people had become thoroughly alarmed at the teaching of the Non-Subscribers, and, whenever a congregation became vacant, a candidate had little chance of success unless he was reputed to be orthodox. In 1812, Dr. Waugh, a Secession minister from London, appeared before the Synod to urge the claims of the London Missionary Society. Several

leading ministers objected to the Court permitting him to speak, and denounced the idea of missions to the heathen as absurd and unpracticable. Through the influence of Mr. Henry and Mr. Hanna, he, at length, obtained a hearing. His address took the Synod by storm; some were moved even to tears; and many placed their pulpits at his disposal. Ever afterwards, the influence of the Church was given to missions.

At this period the attention of many was turned to the state of Irish primary education, which depended almost altogether on private efforts. The native Kelts had seldom received any education in the past, but a rapidly increasing proportion of them now spake English, and these were instructed in the same humble schools with their Protestant neighbours—Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics being all taught the catechisms of their respective churches by the same masters. The teachers of these humble seminaries were seldom able to do more than read, and write, and solve easy questions in arithmetic. The schoolhouse was often built of sods, and thatched with rushes; pieces of timber placed on stones, formed the seats. Each pupil carried daily a turf to keep up the fire. All who wrote, brought goose quills, from which the master made pens, and each pen was mended day by day, till at last the quill was cut to the stump. The pupils wrote on small boards about eighteen inches square, which they placed on their knees while sitting. The master very seldom received as much as £10 a year in the way of fees, but he was “maintained” at the houses of the parents of his pupils, with whom he went home on alternate nights.

Sometimes boys were taught classics by a clergyman or a priest, and still oftener by a student of theology who had failed to attain the profession he sought. Many of these teachers had read a very extensive course of classics, yet dragged out with difficulty a most miserable existence.

To remedy this state of matters, the London Hibernian Society was formed. It promoted the preaching of the Gospel as well as the teaching of the people. In 1818 there were under its care 347 schools with 27,000 scholars, and it had circulated many copies of the Scriptures. The Kildare Place Society was instituted in 1811, and, before many years, obtained a Parliamentary grant. In 1825, it had 1,490 schools with 100,000 pupils. In all its schools the Scriptures were read without note or comment. A few Roman Catholics sat on its committee, and priests accepted the aid it afforded.

About this time a few of the more enlightened and wealthy gentlemen of Antrim and Down, deploring the want of a means to obtain higher education in Ulster, determined to establish a College in Belfast. Their attempt was successful. A building was erected, professors appointed, and a Parliamentary grant of £1,500 a year obtained. In 1815, the classes were in full operation. The managers offered the use of class-rooms to the Synod of Ulster and the Secession Synod, in order that the divinity students of these

bodies might have an opportunity of receiving theological instruction in the institution, where it was hoped they would study during their undergraduate course. In 1815, the Burghers appointed the Rev. Samuel Edgar* of Ballynahinch to teach Theology to their students. But the Synod of Ulster, although determined to take advantage of the seminary, did not for some time appoint a professor.

At a public dinner, in March, 1816, some masters and managers of this institution drank political toasts so disloyal in tendency that the Government withdrew their endowment. Dr. Black, now a Tory, used all his power to persuade the Synod that it would be unwise to permit their students to study within its walls. But his efforts were unsuccessful; and the Synod now determined to raise funds to endow the chair, which they expected to fill at a special meeting next November in Cookstown. But, when that meeting was held, little progress had been made in obtaining subscriptions. Besides, a letter was presented from the Boards of the Belfast Institution, informing them that, at a conference between a deputation from them and Lord Castlereagh, His Lordship stated that, if the Synod would appoint a Professor of Divinity to lecture in the Institution, it would be regarded as an act of hostility by His Majesty's Government. Taking these circumstances into consideration, the Synod put off the appointment of a professor, and chose a deputation to wait on His Lordship. The result of this interview was unsatisfactory, as Lord Castlereagh declared that permission given to students of the Synod to attend the Belfast Institution would be "a breach of the contract" with the Government.

When the Synod of 1817 met, a vast crowd assembled in Rosemary Street Church to hear the expected discussion. Dr. Black hinted that the Royal Bounty might be withdrawn, in case their students were permitted to attend the Belfast Institution. The Synod seemed surprised, and some of the leaders appeared afraid to speak. At last, a young minister, the Rev. James Carlile, of Mary's Abbey, Dublin, arose, and, although a hesitating and ungraceful orator, made, on this occasion, one of the most telling speeches ever delivered in the Synod. They had, he said, received a message from an individual styling himself Lord Castlereagh, informing them that the Government might consider it an act of hostility if they were to elect a professor to instruct their own students in Theology. "Who or what," he continued, "is this Lord Castlereagh, that he should send such a message to the Synod of Ulster? Is he a minister of the Body? Is he an elder? What right has he to obtrude himself on our deliberations?" Then he raised his protest against the Government daring to dictate what measures they

* Mr. Edgar taught an Academy in Ballinahinch. One of his pupils was a lad named James Thompson, who became Mr. Edgar's assistant, and who afterwards attained the position of Professor of Mathematics in the Belfast Institution, and in the University of Glasgow. Lord Kelvin is one of Professor Thompson's sons.

should adopt in the interest of religion. This speech carried the house in spite of all the eloquence of Dr. Black; and the Synod selected the Rev. Samuel Hanna of Belfast to fill the chair of Divinity and Church History. Mr. Hanna was a Calvinist, and his election shows how strongly the tide was now running towards Orthodoxy. The increase of Royal Bounty and the fact that each congregation had a separate grant, caused a rapid increase in the number of candidates for the ministry. The Synod now extended the course of study for these candidates from four sessions to five, of which three were to be spent in Arts, and two in Theology.

The Synod of 1817 was the last at which Dr. Black was present. He had outlived his power and his popularity. His politics were obnoxious to those who sympathized with his theology, and his theology was obnoxious to those who sympathized with his politics. The Widows' Fund, of which he was agent and financier, had lost some of its capital, and these causes combined affected his intellect. In the twilight of a dark day in December, he jumped off Derry Bridge into the Foyle, and thus terminated the career of the greatest man of his time in the Synod of Ulster. As an orator he had no equal in the generation to which he belonged. The Rev. R. Parke, who had often heard both him and Dr. Cooke, considered that in all the higher departments of oratory Dr. Black was probably the superior.*

Meanwhile the Secession Church grew with rapidity. A Widows' Fund was established, and, in 1813, rules adopted for its management. That fund soon became prosperous. The principle was adopted of using only the interest of investments for the support of widows and orphans, and adding the subscriptions of ministers to the capital. Through time it surpassed the Synod of Ulster's Fund, and, at present, pays £60 a year to each annuitant.

* In "The Ulster Synod" a poem ascribed to the Rev. William Heron, of Ballyclare, Dr. Black is thus described:—

'A dark-brow'd chief from Derry's far-fam'd walls,
With scowling look, for fixed attention calls,
Nigrinus rises midst the sacred crew;
But why that fret-work brow, that lip up-curl'd,
That eye which darts defiance to the world?

• • • • •
'Synod, I rise with various feelings fraught,
I, your firm friend, unpensioned and unbought;
For 40 years I've watched your sacred rights,
Nursed all your interests, fought your public fights,
Wiped from your records foul rebellion's name,
And sent to royal ears your loyal fame.
Have you forgot the man who first employed
His time, his talents, and his influence wide,
To screen your follies and your vices hide?
Have you forgot? Then, ingrates, view him here.' "

In 1813 the Burghers and Anti-Burghers formed a union in Cookstown. The Rev. James Rentoul, of Ray, was chosen moderator.* The United Synod had 97 ministers, and it now set about establishing a Home Mission, by means of which many new congregations were formed.

Until this period the Methodists had remained a religious society, with laymen for preachers who did not presume to dispense the Sacraments. But, in 1816, the Conference determined to permit themselves to dispense the Lord's Supper. This rent the body in twain. Part now became a regular sect, and part, retaining their original principles, remained, under the name Primitive Methodists, a mere religious society for preaching the Gospel. But, afterwards, this society adopted the principles of the others, and united with them.

Until 1817, Unitarians rendered themselves liable to penalties, such as had been suffered by Emlyn, if they openly proclaimed their principles. But, in that year, an Act was passed to relieve them from the punishment to which they were liable; and it was not long afterwards till their doctrines, previously held in private, began to be openly advanced.

We have seen that the neglect of the Synod to form new congregations had caused a considerable number of the more careless Presbyterians to join the Episcopal Church, which had places of worship built by the public funds at short distances from one another all over the country. But, with increased spiritual life, with the Royal Bounty unaffected by new erections, and with the Seceders ever ready to establish a charge wherever the Synod of Ulster refused, the work of organizing new congregations went on with rapidity. These "erections" had often to wait for a considerable number of years before obtaining grants of Royal Bounty.

In 1820, a committee was appointed by the Synod to promote the cause of Presbyterianism in the South and West of Ireland. This committee raised funds for the payment of supplies, and was the means of forming several congregations.† Afterwards the attention of the Synod was turned to the North as well as the South, and the work of Church extension carried on over the whole country.

When George IV. visited Ireland, in 1821, the Synod of Ulster, the Synod of Munster, and the Presbytery of Antrim presented a joint address to their Sovereign. This was the last occasion of

* The Rev. James Rentoul, of Ray, had three sons in the ministry of the Secession Church—the Rev. Alexander Rentoul, M.D., D.D., who succeeded his father in Ray; the Rev. James B. Rentoul, D.D., Garvagh, and the Rev. John L. Rentoul, Ballymoney. The Revs. J. A. Rentoul, LL.D., M.P.; J. L. Rentoul, D.D.; Alfred H. Rentoul, M.A.; R. W. R. Rentoul, B.A.; James Rentoul; and J. L. Rentoul are grandsons of the minister of Ray.

† The Rev. H. Cooke, when attending classes in Trinity College, founded, with the help of other ministers, a congregation in Carlow, of which the first minister was the Rev. James Morgan.

importance on which these bodies appeared in their associated character. Another great battle was about to be fought between the Old-Light and the New-Light, under the leadership of the two most illustrious men who have been ever connected with our Church.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.

“Jerome and Huss they put to shame,
And darken good Melancthon’s name ;
And they would put in Arian stocks
The hands and feet of old John Knox.”

THE great champion of the Orthodox party was the Rev. Henry Cooke. He was born about 1783,* the son of a small farmer named John *M’Cooke*, but, on going to college, he dropped the “Mac” from his name. He studied in Glasgow, and was ordained in Duneane, on the 10th of November, 1808, as assistant and successor to the Rev. Robert Scott. At that time senior ministers retained the Royal Bounty while they lived, and there was no fund for assistants. Mr. Cooke found it so difficult to exist on £25 a year of stipend that he soon resigned his congregation and went to act as tutor in the family of Mr. Brown, of Kells, Co. Antrim. Soon afterwards he became minister of Donegore, and from Donegore he removed to Killyleagh, where he was installed on the 8th of September, 1818. There the entire population was Presbyterian, from the landlord to the labourer. The landlord was the celebrated Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who was an Arian, but his son, Captain Sydney Hamilton Rowan, was orthodox, and a ruling elder in the congregation. Until this time, Mr. Cooke had not come into close conflict with Arianism. In a sermon he had previously published, there is no clear exposition of Orthodox principles. He had not joined in the protest against re-admitting the suspended minister of Ballee after his avowal of Arianism. But now, as a champion of Orthodoxy, he was about to go into the very thick of the most fearful conflict which ever took place in the Presbyterian Church.

In 1821, the Rev. J. Smethurst, of Moreton Hampstead, a clergyman of very advanced views, came from England to make a preaching tour in Ulster and try to convert the Irish Arians to

* After a very careful investigation, I have concluded that Dr. Cooke was born about five years before the date that is generally given.

Humanitarianism. He preached in Killyleagh by invitation. Mr. Cooke went to hear the stranger, and, on the following Sabbath, from his own pulpit, replied to his arguments. He had an immense audience, whom he carried from point to point by his matchless oratory. He brought conviction to their minds, and raised their feelings to enthusiasm. The influence of Smethurst was thereby destroyed in Killyleagh, and he left the neighbourhood. But, wherever he went in the province, Cooke followed, and succeeded in making New-Light doctrines so unpopular with the Presbyterian people of the North that Smethurst soon gave up the battle and returned to England, having succeeded in making but one convert, the Rev. Fletcher Blakely, of Moneyrea.

In October, 1821, the Rev. William Bruce, of the Antrim Presbytery, was appointed professor of Latin, Greek and Hebrew in the Royal Academical Institution. At the next meeting of Synod Mr. Cooke used all his eloquence to persuade the Court to refuse their students permission to attend the newly-appointed professor. As he spoke, the very elements seemed to fight against him. Thick darkness gathered round. A thunder-storm broke over the building and caused it to shake to its foundations. In the midst of this commotion of the elements he poured forth a torrent of eloquence; but that eloquence was in vain. He failed to convince the Court either then or the next year, in Armagh,

“That Hebrew, if taught without orthodox fetters,
Would get a Socinian twist in the letters.”

And the students of the Synod continued to attend the lectures of Mr. Bruce.

In this controversy, Mr. Cooke received valuable assistance from the Rev. R. Stewart, Broughshane, whose arguments he was often accused of borrowing. Mr. Stewart was rough in appearance, and devoid of the graces of oratory in which his friend excelled. He was celebrated for wit, humour, and logical acumen. He was an original genius, whose arguments were elaborated from facts by his own mind and not borrowed from books, of which he had very few in his possession. It was probably his friendship for Mr. Cooke which caused him to cast his lot with the orthodox party. At first he exhibited considerable hesitation, and, on the night before an important debate, he told Mr. James MacKnight that he intended to speak the next day, but had not finally determined which side he would take.

A code of discipline, on which a committee had been labouring for several years, was received and adopted in 1824. It contained no definite law with regard to subscription, as it merely stated that “Presbyteries before they license candidates to preach the Gospel, should ascertain the soundness of their faith, either by requiring subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, or by such examinations as they should consider best adapted for this purpose.” The Non-Subscribers considered it a victory that the question of subscription was left to the Presbyteries. But their victory was only

the receding wave of an advancing tide. The eloquence of Cooke had roused the Presbyterian people; almost all the candidates for the ministry were Orthodox; and, as Arian ministers died, their places were occupied by Trinitarian successors.

In 1824, Mr. Cooke was elected Moderator of the Synod of Ulster. In January, 1825, he gave evidence before a Royal Commission; and in April of the same year, before a Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, appointed to enquire into the state of Ireland. In his evidence, Mr. Cooke gave as his opinion that about 35 out of the 200 ministers belonging to the Synod of Ulster were Arians, and that the Belfast Institution might finally become a "Seminary of Arianism."

At the next meeting of Synod, Mr. Cooke's evidence before the Royal Commission and the Parliamentary Committees was subjected to a prolonged discussion. Mr. Morell, of Ballybay, moved that the Synod deprecate the unwarrantable attacks which had been made upon Mr. Cooke regarding his evidence. This was opposed with all his eloquence by the Rev. H. Montgomery,* and Mr. Cooke's friends, afraid that there might be difficulty in carrying the motion, proposed an amendment to the effect that the Synod had confidence in Mr. Cooke's integrity, and were convinced that he gave his testimony strictly according to the dictates of his conscience. This amendment was carried unanimously. At the same meeting of Synod Mr. Cooke succeeded in carrying a resolution stating that in 1726 "The Presbytery of Antrim were separated from the General Synod of Ulster; and had not, since that period, held any ecclesiastical connection with the Synod, in matters of doctrine, discipline, or jurisdiction."

The Rev. Dr. Bruce, father of Professor Bruce, published, in 1824, a volume of sermons in which Unitarian views were for the first time plainly avowed and defended in connection with this controversy. Just as one party became more orthodox, the other party became more heterodox. Their faces being turned different ways, they travelled with rapidity in different directions. But even so late as 1826, the Synod rejected a motion of the Rev. James Elder†

* Mr. Montgomery was born in 1788, ordained minister of Dunmurry in 1809, and, in 1817, appointed head master of the English school in the Belfast Institution. He was the only member of Synod who could meet Cooke on equal terms. He was plausible, persuasive, and a mighty master of the English language. He was loved by his friends, respected by his enemies, and admired by everyone for his commanding appearance and persuasive eloquence.

† The Rev. James Elder of Finvoy, "The Gun of the Gospel," was one of the most earnest and evangelical ministers of the Church. He was very obnoxious to the New-Light party, and is thus satirized in "The Ulster Synod:"—

"Finvoy! relentless scourge to common sense,
Thou brain ne'er coining aught but counter pence,
Rack not thy wits, nor with such furious zeal,
Break reason and religion on the wheel."

to make subscription to the confession compulsory. And on this occasion Mr. Cooke supported the action of the majority.

The Rev. William Porter,* Clerk of Synod, had, "before the Commissioners of Education enquiry," admitted that he was an Arian, and stated that among "the thinking few" Arianism was gaining ground. At the Synod of 1827, which met in Strabane, Mr. Magill, of Antrim, moved, "That the Rev. William Porter, having publicly avowed himself to be an Arian, be no longer continued Clerk." An amendment was proposed to the effect that the Synod disapproved of Arianism, but that Mr. Porter, having discharged his duties with "ability and fidelity," be continued in the office. Neither motion nor amendment met the ideas of Mr. Cooke. He had made up his mind that the Arians must be expelled, and he suggested that both motion and amendment be withdrawn and another motion passed which involved separation. This suggestion was not adopted. At last, the Synod accepted a resolution, proposed by Mr. Stewart, which expressed the Synod's "high disapprobation" of Mr. Porter's religious opinions, but permitted him to retain the position of Clerk, lest his removal from office "might be construed into persecution for the sake of opinion." Mr. Cooke protested, on account of the resolution not having gone far enough, and his protest was signed by forty-one ministers and fourteen elders.

But although defeated on this point, Mr. Cooke did not give up the battle. At the same meeting of Synod, without previous notice of motion, he moved a resolution to compel all members of the Court to make a declaration that they did "most firmly hold and believe" the doctrine that "There are three Persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory." The debate on this resolution began on Thursday, and was not concluded till Saturday. The leaders of both parties put forth all their power and eloquence. Old men who had attended the Synod yearly since their youth, declared that they had never listened to speeches so eloquent and powerful. The rival orators on both sides, conscious that they were now in the thick of the contest for superiority, put forth all their strength. The Rev. Henry Montgomery, for upwards of an hour, spoke upon the iniquity of creeds and confessions, and the blessings of unity and peace. Although the majority of the Synod were against him, his marvellous eloquence was greeted with thunders of applause. A countryman on the gallery becoming greatly excited, was heard to say, "It would be a fine thing to send a bullet through him." Even the members of court were so spell-bound, that, when he had finished, they would hardly listen to another speaker. Mr. Stewart attempted to address the house, but, at first, they refused to hear. They could not appreciate his uncouth

*Mr. Porter was born in 1774, near Omagh. He studied in Glasgow and in Edinburgh; and, in 1799, was ordained minister of Newtown-Limavady. He was chosen Clerk of the Synod in 1816, and he died in 1843.

power after the polished sentences and graceful oratory of Henry Montgomery. Persisting in his attempt, he at last obtained a hearing, and evinced powers of argument, wit, and humour, equal to those of Montgomery himself, although as an orator he was far behind.

Mr. Cooke closed the debate, and the question was put : " Believe the doctrine or not." Four ministers withdrew before the vote was taken. One hundred and seventeen ministers and eighteen elders voted " Believe," two ministers voted " Not," and eight ministers declined to vote. It is said several who sympathised with the Non-Subscribers failed to support their own party, because they feared to offend their congregations, which were strictly orthodox. Some of these ministers kept away from the Synod, others declined to vote, and a few voted for the orthodox party against their convictions.

Mr. Cooke often admitted that the tide was running strongly against heterodoxy at the time of his ordination. At first, he was in a minority ; but, like Peter the Hermit, he everywhere preached a crusade against the New Light. He aroused the people, who were on his side. He became the leader of an increasing majority, and was soon supreme in the Synod.

The Church of Scotland, about the beginning of the century, was as much under the influence of New-light principles as the Synod of Ulster. But these opinions were not perpetuated by the exclusion of those by whom they were taught. This was the policy advocated by Chalmers ; and many orthodox members of the Synod of Ulster thought that the same course ought to be followed in Ireland. But Mr. Cooke had now a powerful majority behind him, and he determined to pass such laws as would drive his great rival out of the Church.

In 1828, the Synod met in Cookstown. According to the resolution of the previous year, " Such ministers attending the present meeting, as were absent from the last, were severally called on to express their belief concerning the doctrine of the Trinity." Thirty-eight ministers voted ' believe ' ; four voted ' not ' ; one withdrew, and three did not answer to their names." Of the elders who had not been members of the last Synod, " fifty-nine voted ' believe ' ; fourteen voted ' not ' ; two protested against any such question being put ; and two declined answering."

On Friday, Mr. Cooke introduced his celebrated overtures, which provided that every student, before being recognised as a candidate for the ministry, should " previously to entering a Theological class . . . be examined by a committee of this Synod, respecting his personal religion, his knowledge of the Scriptures, especially his views of the doctrines of the Trinity, Original Sin, Justification by Faith, and Regeneration by the Holy Spirit." If found unsound in doctrine or destitute of vital godliness, he was not to receive licence ; or, if licensed and, afterwards, fail to preach these doctrines, he was not to be continued in fellowship

with the Church. Mr. Cooke's overtures were seconded by the Rev. Samuel Dill, of Donoughmore.* They were opposed by Mr. Montgomery, who spoke for two hours. A bitterly hostile audience were held spell-bound by his marvellous eloquence. In appearance he was a leader of men. He had a voice of wonderful sweetness. His exceedingly plausible arguments were expressed in beautiful sentences sparkling with wit and humour. Towards the close of his speech he contradicted a report that he denied the Saviour, and repeated with tones which brought tears to the eyes of many:

"Jesus, my Lord, I know His name—His name is all my boast ;
Nor will He put my soul to shame, nor let my hope be lost."

Mr. Stewart replied, and the overtures were carried by a majority of eighty-two : ninety-nine ministers and forty elders voted "pass," while forty ministers and seventeen elders voted "not pass."

The Non-Subscribers placed a protest on record, which was signed by twenty-one ministers and eighteen elders, of whom some professed to believe in the doctrine of the Trinity. They then began to prepare for withdrawing from the Synod. In October, 1828, they held a meeting in Belfast, at which they framed a "Remonstrance," setting forth their grievances, and stating that, unless the overtures were repealed, they must form themselves into a separate Association. Mr. Cooke and some of his friends adopted the strange course of attending this meeting, where he made a speech to defend himself from various accusations.

Amongst the numerous publications issued in connection with this controversy, none produced greater effect than a poem entitled, "The Thinking Few," by the Rev. Robert Magill, of Antrim. Mr. Magill had a voice of such marvellous sweetness that the mere sound of his preaching produced a feeling of peculiar pleasure in the hearts of his hearers. The Arians, jealous of his eloquence, thought him "a noisy fanatic." The Orthodox considered that he had wonderful power as a preacher, and Dr. Chalmers pronounced him the "most characteristic Irishman" whom he had met. In this publication,

* Mr. Dill was the father of the Rev. S. M. Dill, D.D., Professor of Theology in Magee College, Cerry, and grandfather of Mr. R. F. Dill, M.A., of Dungannon Royal School. The founder of this family was a Dutch soldier who came to Ireland with King William. Two of his descendants—brothers, named John and Marcus Dill—settled near the shore of Lough Swilly. John had two sons who became Presbyterian clergymen—the Revs. Samuel Dill of Donoughmore, and Richard Dill of Knowhead. The pastor of Knowhead was father of the Revs. Richard Dill of Dublin, and Edward Dill of Clonakilty. Marcus Dill of Springfield had also two sons in the ministry—the Revs. Francis Dill of Manorcunningham, and Richard Dill of Ballykelly. During the troubles of 1798 Francis Dill narrowly escaped the fate of James Porter, although quite innocent of the charges brought against him. At the time of the Union in 1840, there were ten Dills in the ministry of the Synod of Ulster, which was then said to be made up of ministers, elders, and Dills.

Mr. Magill poured forth the most bitter contempt on those who dared to assume that Arians were the only thinkers in the Synod of Ulster. It is said that the New Light Party were greatly hurt by the sting of his satire.*

The Rev. John Paul, Covenanting minister of Carrickfergus, published in 1826, "A Refutation of Arianism," in reply to the sermons of Dr. Bruce. Mr. Paul expressed himself with great power and clearness, and his work was extensively circulated. About two years afterwards, he printed a pamphlet in reply to Mr. Montgomery's celebrated speech in Strabane, which the Unitarian party had declared to be unanswered and unanswerable. The Rev. James Carlile gave to the world in 1828 a valuable work entitled, "Jesus Christ, the Great God, and our Saviour." Besides these, there were several other publications issued in connection with this controversy. But a great part of the discussion was carried on through the newspapers—a vehicle of public opinion which had come into existence since the non-subscribing controversy, a hundred years before. The leading papers were the *News-Letter*, which had been established in 1737, by Mr. Francis Joy, and the *Whig*, which had been started in 1824, by Mr. F. D. Finlay, son-in-law of the Rev. W. Porter. At that time the *Whig* generally favoured the Unitarians, who had consequently less difficulty in getting their views published than their opponents.

It was reported to a special meeting of the Synod in November, 1828, that the Government had offered to restore the annual grant of £1,500, withdrawn in 1816 from Belfast College, and, in order

* Mr. Magill died in 1839, while still in the prime of life. Both Dr. Croskery and Dr. Hamilton have erroneously stated that he died in 1836. The following lines will give an idea of the style of his satire:—

"For the electric living spark
That flashed across the mind of Clark,
Has reached the 'little thinking band,'
The 'favoured few' of Erin's land,
Who dwell amidst her Shamrock bowers,
And are as scarce as her round towers;
And they are Zenos all, by right,
For they alone have seen the light,
And they are holy new-light priests,
Who love 'the great arm-chair' at feasts.
And market greetings, not *incog*—
And honours in the synagogue;
And as they are so full of light,
They claim 'chief places' as a right.
And they do feel self-conscious pride,
For they have been 'electrified.'
And each is like a glass receiver,
Through trembling with the thinking fever."

Mr. Robert M. Young, B.A., C.E., M.R.I.A., is a grandson of Mr. Magill.

to give Presbyterians a controlling influence in the Institution, had proposed that of the nine professorships, five might be accounted religious, namely:—the two Professorships of Divinity and those of Moral Philosophy, Hebrew, and Greek, the last being still open to consideration; that the two Divinity professors should be named, as before, by the Synod, and the other religious professors elected as they then were; but that “joint-certificates” of their fitness for the appointment should be required from the Synod.

This offer ought to have been gratefully accepted; but, through Mr. Cooke’s advice, it was most insanely determined that the Synod would be satisfied with their Moderator being a member of the Board which made the appointment. The Church had soon good cause to regret not accepting the offered advantage.

A short time before the meeting of Synod, in 1829, Mr. John Ferrie, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Belfast Institution, in preference to Rev. J. Carlile, of Dublin. This was one of the professorships which the Government had termed “religious,” yet Mr. Ferrie was supposed to be a Socinian, and, in the class of Moral Philosophy, he would have many opportunities of inculcating his peculiar opinions. When the Synod met, it was not long until the matter came up for consideration. Mr. Cooke moved that a committee be chosen to correspond with the Secession and Reformed Presbyterian Churches regarding the appointment, and that a special meeting be held in Cookstown to receive their report.

On Friday, Mr. Montgomery arose to oppose Mr. Cooke’s motion. He stood in front of the pulpit, near where sat his illustrious opponent. Many of the audience were Non-Subscribers, and his appearance was greeted with loud applause. He held in his hand a report of the Parliamentary Committee, before which Mr. Cooke was examined with regard to Irish Education, and he tried to prove that Mr. Cooke’s statements in his late speech, regarding the orthodoxy of Glasgow University, were directly contradictory of what he had sworn previously. “At the time,” said he, “when the Parliamentary Commission sat, his great point was to put down the Institution. It answered a particular purpose then, to give the Institution a stab, by holding up the orthodoxy of Glasgow Professors. Now, it answers a different purpose to deny their orthodoxy; and accordingly he denies it.” Mr. Montgomery called forth all his powers for this his final appearance in the Synod. His face grew sallow pale, his eyes “flashed with indignation,” and he seemed to tower above his usual commanding stature. At times, he thundered forth with terrific power, at times, as a mighty magician, he moved his audience to tears, and seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of Cooke himself. Ever and anon, he would wave the report which contained Mr. Cooke’s sworn testimony, in the face of the Synod, and then point with a glance of withering scorn to the pew, in which his opponent sat motionless as a statue. At last, his voice and tone changed. He began to contrast the stormy conflicts of earth with the endless bliss of heaven. “I trust,” said he, “when

we have laid aside the garb of frail mortality, when we have cast off the flesh with its passions, we shall all, friends and foes alike, meet in that better and happier world, wondering at our own sinful folly in having disputed, and excited strife, where all should have been harmony and love." When he sat down, the roof resounded with thunders of applause.

The Synod then adjourned for half an hour. When they resumed, Mr. Cooke arose to make his defence. "Never," said he, in reference to Mr. Montgomery's speech, "has any assembly witnessed such a display of forensic eloquence. What its effects upon others must have been I can well conceive, for even I, who was suffering under its stroke, could not refrain from giving it the tribute of my admiration. . . . He has laid upon me the load of obloquy, branding me with perjury, and binding me as a criminal shut up in prison with fetters of iron. But I will smite the fetters with the talisman of truth, and stand before you and the world a free man without blot." Taking up the charges, he showed that it was a misrepresentation to accuse him of self-contradiction. Sometimes, as he proceeded, his audience burst into tears; sometimes they sprang to their feet. They laughed, or wept, or cheered as he appealed to their sense of humour or sympathy, or showed forth the truth of his cause. When, at last, he sat down, having vindicated his truthfulness, the applause continued for several minutes, and the resolutions he advocated were adopted.

The special meeting of Synod was held in Cookstown, on the 18th of August. Mr. Porter, who acted as clerk, was the only Non-Subscriber present. He presented the "Remonstrance," which had been drawn up by his party, and was signed by eighteen ministers, fifteen students or licentiates, one hundred and ninety-seven members of session, and three hundred and fourteen seat-holders. They asked the Synod to repeal their overtures, or otherwise, to appoint a committee to arrange terms of separation. This committee the Synod nominated. Seventeen Non-Subscribing ministers withdrew, and, on the 25th of May, 1830, formed the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster. They retained their share of Royal Bounty and their interest in the Widows' Fund; but as a Church they have not increased in either numbers or in influence. The younger ministers soon grew so lax in their theology that Dr. Montgomery was driven to advocate the use of a creed to arrest their downgrade movement. But the attempt failed; and this great and good man was, at his death in 1865, out of both political and religious sympathy with many of his own followers.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SUPREMACY OF THE DUUMVIRATE.

“ True ; some have left this noble craft to sail the seas alone ;
And made them, in their hour of pride, a vessel of their own ;
Ah ! me, when clouds portentous rise, when threat’ning tempests blow,
They’ll wish for that old vessel built two hundred years ago.”

THE battle between the Old Light and the New Light had been fought and won. The victory had been obtained by an influence that was both religious and political. The Presbyterian people, instructed in the Catechism by their parents, and kept in mind of their history by the Seceders, had remained strictly orthodox ; and their orthodoxy was a powerful restraint on the laxity of New Light ministers. A similar influence was exercised by the political principles of the people. The outrages committed by Roman Catholic rebels in 1798 had caused the farmers of Antrim and Down to pass from a state of lawless rebellion to a state of abject submission and unreasoning loyalty. In many places, the Orange society had a power almost dictatorial in directing the religious as well as the political destinies of its numerous adherents. But the New Light leaders were supposed to sympathise with the principles which had led to rebellion ; while Mr. Cooke, strongly aristocratic in his political tendency, loudly proclaimed that his party had no sympathy with treason. Thus, it came to pass, that the influence of political Conservatism was exercised against religious Liberalism ; and Mr. Cooke, supported by the power which sprung from his orthodoxy, and by the power which sprung from his Toryism, was easily victorious. By excluding his mighty rival, he and Mr. Stewart, his *Fidus Achates*, became supreme in the Synod.

It was often with great difficulty that the Orthodox leaders could induce any of the Belfast newspapers to publish their letters or articles. The *Whig* was under Unitarian influence, the *News-Letter* was too secular, and the *Guardian* too High Church to desire to oblige them. Accordingly, Mr. Cooke and his friends started, in 1829, a monthly periodical, entitled, the *Orthodox Presbyterian*, in which they maintained their principles for several years.

To meet the wants of a rapidly-increasing population in Belfast,*

*The population of Belfast, in 1660, was 750 ; in 1757, 8,549 ; in 1831, 53,737 ; and in 1891, 273,055. If we include the Covenanters and both classes of Seceders, about 100,000 are Presbyterians, for whose accommodation are 43 churches.

a new Meeting-house was built in Fisherwick Place, and in 1828 the Rev. James Morgan* installed pastor of the congregation which worshipped there.

Soon afterwards, a Church was built for Mr. Cooke, in May Street, where he was installed on the 24th of November, 1829. His sermons attracted vast crowds, who were swayed as if by the hand of a mighty magician.

Year by year other Churches were erected in Belfast, to meet the wants of an increasing population. But a mistake was made in building them too large, and giving one minister more work than he could possibly perform with success—especially when no provision exists in our constitution for rendering compulsory the employment of an assistant, whenever a pastor has a congregation so large that he cannot discharge all his duties successfully.

Meanwhile, the congregations of the Secession Synod had increased in number and in influence. On the death, in 1826, of the Rev. Samuel Edgar, D.D., Professor of Theology, his son, the Rev. John Edgar, minister of Alfred Place, was appointed his successor. In 1829, Mr. Edgar began a temperance reformation, which, before long, spread throughout all Ireland. Many societies were formed, and thousands bound themselves to abstain from distilled spirits. But, after a while, it was found that people could become drunk on wine or beer, and the associations adopted a basis of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. The movement commenced by Dr. Edgar is now carried on by every Protestant denomination in the country, and is encouraged by even the authorities of the Church of Rome.

During the long war with France the price of agricultural produce had risen, and landlords began to exact increased rents. But when the war was over, and prices had fallen, they refused to lower the rents, which were now paid with difficulty, and it was years before prosperity returned. The Presbyterian farmers of Ireland had turned a barren waste into a fruitful field, to which, unfortunately, they had no legal claim; and their landlords often employed, in the interest of Episcopacy, the power that sprung from the ownership of their tenant's property. They got numerous country churches built with public funds in all the Presbyterian strongholds of Ulster, and they canvassed their tenants to leave the faith of their martyred fathers for the faith of their persecutors. In some instances they succeeded in getting the poor, the ungodly, the excommunicated, and those who wished to be recognised by "society," to worship in these newly-erected buildings. The loss of

*The father of Dr. Morgan was a bleacher, who settled at Cookstown, and became a convert from Episcopacy to Presbyterianism. His son, James, was born in 1799, studied at Glasgow, and, in 1820, was ordained minister of Carlow. From thence he removed to Lisburn, and from Lisburn to Fisherwick Place. He preached the truth faithfully, but in such a way as not to offend even Unitarian members of his congregation. He directed his energies to the special work of his ministry, rather than to ecclesiastical courts or social intercourse.

the poor we regret. But the loss of a few who thought themselves honoured by obtaining companionship with men whose only merit was that they lived on the labour of others, is not a matter for sorrow. These renegades having added no strength to our Church while they remained, inflicted no loss on it when they departed.

During the first forty years of the nineteenth century the population of Ireland increased with amazing rapidity. The standard of comfort was low, as Keltic cottiers lived chiefly on potatoes and butter-milk. Agricultural holdings were divided and sub-divided until too small to maintain the families by which they were owned. In Ulster, these families derived their support from the manufacture of linen rather than from agriculture. The flax which grew on their land was spun into yarn by the females,* and was woven into cloth by the men, or even by the women. The money obtained for this cloth enabled these rural manufacturers to pay their rents and to live in comfort. But the country stood on the brink of ruin. A majority of the population was supported by an industry soon to be superseded, and by an article of food soon to be blighted.

After many years of agitation, the Roman Catholics were, in 1829, admitted to sit in Parliament; but the forty-shilling freeholders were now deprived of their right to vote, and the county franchise was raised to £10 a year of freehold qualification, in order that the Romanists might, in one way lose what in another way they had gained. The great leader of the Irish Kelts was now Mr. Daniel O'Connell, who afterwards exerted all his energies, but without success, to obtain a repeal of the Union with Great Britain.

The Synod of Ulster, with new life, began to make rapid progress. The congregations which, in 1830, numbered 209, had increased to 292, ten years afterwards. The amount contributed for Home Missions went up from £289 in 1832 to £2,753 in 1839. And, above all, this revival was produced by instructing the understandings rather than exciting the emotions of Ulster Presbyterians.

In 1831, the Whig Government announced, in a letter written by the Right Hon. E. G. Stanley, their intention of establishing in Ireland a system of National Education. The Roman Catholics very soon came to terms with the Ministry, and placed a number of their schools under the new National Board of Education. But this very fact, was one reason why Protestants of all denominations refused, at first, to have anything to do with the system. They objected to the restrictions placed on the use of the Bible, which prevented it from being read *at any hour of the day*, permitting it only at certain times, which would leave four hours to secular studies; and they feared that in schools, under Roman Catholic management, the doctrines of Popery might be taught. Soon after Mr. Stanley's letter appeared, a special meeting of Synod was held at Cookstown, on the 11th of January, 1832. Dr. Cooke moved a series of resolutions,

*A girl was supposed to be able to spin a "hank" of yarn every day, and, besides, do her share of household work.

in which it was declared that "the Bible, unabridged and unmutilated, should form the basis of National Education." and that they objected to the teaching of doctrines in these schools "opposed to the Sacred Scriptures." Such conditions the Government would not accept, and for years this controversy continued.

Public meetings were held, speeches delivered, letters written, and poems published. The Orange democracy were in a state of terrific excitement. They imagined the Government were in league with Popery to prevent the Bible being taught to their children; and Presbyterian ministers did not dare, even had they approved of the National system, to accept of aid from the Board. Mr. Porter, minister of Drumlee, had ventured to place his school in connection, but the teacher was expelled by an armed mob, and Mr. Porter himself assaulted.

After repeated negotiations and endless controversy, the Synod, in 1840, came to terms with the Government. They succeeded in obtaining the principle for which Dr. Cooke had contended—namely, that the Bible might be read at any time in the day, and not at a special hour determined by the Commissioners. Since that time, many of the Board's rules have been changed, and the system is now open to much more serious objections than when it was so bitterly opposed by the Protestants of Ulster. But, on the other hand, it has greatly increased the educational standard in Ireland, and has made the English language almost universal in the country.

In 1832, the Liberal Government passed a Reform Bill. All the smaller pocket boroughs were swept away. The franchise qualification was fixed at £50 a year of rent, or £10 of leasehold in the counties, and at £10 a year of rent or holding in the boroughs. But, as no provision was made for protecting the farmer-serfs from the oppression of landlords and rectors, political agitation continued. In order to excite the strong spirit of Protestantism possessed by the people, and thus counteract the discontentment which prevailed, a vast meeting was gathered in October, 1834, by the landlords, at Hillsborough. Dr. Cooke appeared on the platform, and raised wonderful enthusiasm by stating that he published the banns of matrimony between the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches. But he seemed to forget that there was no common principle sufficiently strong to produce that union, so long as the Established Church held the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, in consequence of which, while acknowledging the orders of the Church of Rome, she denied the validity of the orders of all other denominations of British Protestants.

The reformed Parliament, in 1833, passed an Act by which, on the death of the existing prelates, two of the four archbishops, and eight of the eighteen bishops were to have no successors. Some of the money thus saved was used to supply the place of the church cess, a tax levied off all denominations to pay sextons, to purchase communion elements, and to meet the other miscellaneous expenditure of Episcopal churches. Five years afterwards, the

payment of tithes was transferred from the tenant to the landlord, but that gave little relief, as the tenant had soon to pay an increased rent, more than equal to the tithe from which he had been relieved. It prevented, however, the agitation and riots to which the collection of tithes had lately given rise.

From a denominational census of Ireland, taken in 1834, it was found that the larger denominations were as follows:—

Roman Catholics,	...	6,427,712
Episcopalians,	...	852,064
Presbyterians,	...	642,356
All Others,	...	21,808

Total,	...	7,943,940
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In this enumeration, most of the Methodists were included among the Episcopalians, as the followers of Wesley had not, even then, begun to regard themselves as a sect, notwithstanding their resolution to permit preachers to discharge the functions of clergymen. The Presbyterians were almost altogether confined to Ulster, while the Episcopalians were distributed over Ireland. This rendered them more exposed to absorption by a Roman Catholic majority. But, on the other hand, Presbyterians forming the substantial middle class farmers, were more liable to loss by emigration. In this year, the government placed those Secession ministers, who received only £40 of Royal Bounty, in the class who received £50, and, henceforth, there were only two classes among the Secession clergymen.

In 1834, both the Secession Synod and the Synod of Ulster withdrew their students from the class of Mr. Ferrie, Professor of Metaphysics and Ethics in the Academical Institution. Dr. Cooke and Mr. Molyneaux took charge of the Synod of Ulster students, and, after some time, the Secession students were placed under the care of Professor Cairns and Professor Stevelly.

The Synod of Ulster, in 1835, appointed Mr. Samuel Davidson to conduct a newly formed class of Biblical criticism. The same year, they adopted an overture brought forward by the Rev. John Brown of Aghadoey, requiring all who became ministers or licentiates of the church to subscribe to this formula and no other:—"I believe the Westminster Confession of Faith to be founded upon and agreeable to the Word of God, and as such I subscribe it as the Confession of my Faith." The next year, this overture was confirmed by a majority of 94 ministers and 31 elders against 20 ministers and 8 elders.

The year 1836 was rendered famous by a public discussion in Belfast, conducted by Dr. Cooke, on the one side, in favour of all the religious establishments of Britain, and by Dr. Ritchie, of Edinburgh, on the other side, against them. A gentleman who was present at the meeting informed me that, at first, when Dr. Ritchie was delivering what he had previously prepared, he held his own very well; but at last, when the disputants began to reply to one another, Dr. Cooke was easily victorious.

In 1837, the Rev. Dr. James Seaton Reid was appointed by the

Synod of Ulster to lecture on Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology. He was then minister of Carrickfergus, and held the important position of Clerk of Synod, to which he had been chosen on the resignation of Mr. Porter. In 1834, he had published the first volume of his history of the Irish Presbyterian Church, and the second volume had just been issued. Even Macaulay admits that this history, for many transactions, is the best authority in existence. Dr. Reid died in 1851, before his work was completed.

In the spring of 1838, the Rev. Archibald Boyd, of Londonderry, an Episcopal curate, published a work in which he made a furious attack on Presbyterianism. Four Synod of Ulster ministers—the Rev. William M'Clure, the Rev. James Denham, the Rev. A. P. Goudy, and the Rev. W. D. Killen—published, in 1839, a reply entitled, “Presbyterianism Defended.”

The Rev. William M'Clure was son of a Belfast merchant, and grandson of the Rev. John Thompson, of Carnmoney. He studied in Belfast, and, in 1825, was ordained as colleague to Mr. Hay in the First Presbyterian Church, Londonderry. Although not a very brilliant preacher, his piety, popularity, and faithfulness rendered him a successful minister. He was Moderator of the Synod of Ulster in 1834, of the Assembly in 1847, and was, for a long time, convener of the Colonial Mission. He died on the 22nd of February, 1874. His brother, Sir Thomas M'Clure, Bart., represented Belfast, and, afterwards, county Derry, in Parliament. He lived until 1893.

The Rev. James Denham, son of the Rev. Joseph Denham, of Killeshandra, studied theology under Dr. Hanna, and, in 1826, was ordained at Brigh, county Tyrone. In 1837, he was installed minister of the new Presbyterian Church, Great James's Street, Londonderry. He was a dignified and successful minister; was Moderator of the Synod of Ulster in 1839, and died in 1871.

The Rev. Alexander Porter Goudy, son of the Rev. Andrew Goudy, of Ballywalter, and of Matilda, daughter of the Rev. James Porter, was born in 1809. He entered Belfast College in 1823, and, in 1831, became assistant and successor to the Rev. James Sinclair, of Glaslary. In 1833 he removed to Strabane, where he remained until his death in 1858.

Dr. Goudy was Liberal in politics, and Conservative in Theology. Animated by the same hatred of landlordism which had sent his grandfather to the scaffold, he attacked with asperity both the aristocracy and their Church; but Conservative in his Theology, he was opposed to that Unitarianism now professed by the party to which his illustrious ancestor had belonged. Distinguished by his eloquence in the pulpit, and by his wit, humour, and invective on the platform, he was the first minister of the Assembly to meet Dr. Cooke on equal terms, and curb his dictatorial power.

The Rev. William D. Killen, who is descended from the Rev. Edward Brice, was, in 1829, ordained minister of Raphoe. In 1841, he was appointed professor of Ecclesiastical History in Belfast, and discharged with success the duties of that office until 1889, when he resigned on account of old age. He completed Dr. Reid's History

of the Irish Presbyterian Church, compiled an Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, and works relating to the early Christian Church. His style is clear, and he is generally accurate. But he succeeds better in recording events than in discussing their causes or their consequences.

The authors of "Presbyterianism Defended" took up each a separate part of the controversy, and they proved plainly from Scripture and from history, the validity of Presbyterian Church government. Mr. Boyd replied in a work entitled, "Episcopacy, Ordination, Lay Eldership, and Liturgies," which was little more than a series of blunders. To this treatise his opponents rejoined in the "Plea of Presbytery." They pointed out plainly Mr. Boyd's misquotations, falsehoods, and inconclusive arguments. Having a good cause and a blundering opponent, they struck hard, and aroused the wrath of both priests and people in the Prelatic Church. After some time, Mr. Boyd published a reply entitled, "Misrepresentation Refuted," in which he charged his opponents with "vulgarity," "trickery," and "vindictive calumny"; and even accused them with "meanness," because they had noticed his inaccuracies.

The authors of the "Plea" rejoined with a pamphlet entitled *Mene Tekel*, in which Mr. Goudy poured forth a perfect torrent of wit, humour, invective, and withering scorn, proving plainly "that public condemnation is sure, eventually, to be the fate of him who sacrifices principle on the shrine of vanity, and purchases notoriety at the expense of truth." Writhing under the lash, Mr. Boyd seems to have lost any literary power he previously possessed, and published a large book entitled, "Episcopacy and Presbytery," which Mr. Goudy described as "a literary abortion, which no man ever read, and no periodical ever reviewed." Mr. Boyd soon afterwards left Derry, and the controversy came to an end. The "Plea of Presbytery" went through three editions, and its authors received a vote of thanks for their services from the Synod of Ulster, which was the last motion passed by that body before its union with the Secession Church.

In 1838, the Government abolished the system of classification by which the Royal Bounty had been distributed. Preserving the vested interests of those receiving £100 a year, they now granted £75 Irish, or £69 4s 8d British, to every minister in charge of either a Secession or Synod of Ulster congregation. Two years afterwards, it was arranged that, in the case of all future ministerial settlements, congregations would have to consist of at least twelve families, or fifty individuals, contributing not less than £35 of yearly stipend, of which £15 might come from the value of a manse, or from an endowment.

The abnormal increase of the Irish population had caused a corresponding increase in the number of the poor. Whenever a famine arose, multitudes died with hunger. If an epidemic occurred, many miserable beings, excluded from the houses of farmers, perished in rude huts built for them in the fields. As a

remedy for this evil, the Government, in 1833, introduced a system of relieving the destitute. The country was divided into Unions. In each of these a "workhouse" was built, where the poor had a right to be supported by means of a tax levied on holdings in proportion to their valuation.

Some years previously, a dispute had arisen between the Rev. Michael Crotty, Roman Catholic curate of Birr, and the authorities of his Church. At last, Mr. Crotty declared himself independent of ecclesiastical control, and continued, on his own responsibility, to hold religious services. Soon afterwards, he was joined by his cousin, the Rev. William Crotty. Both were excommunicated by their Church, but they continued to preach the gospel, and, year by year, to draw nearer to the doctrines and practices of Protestantism. The Rev. Michael Crotty, at last, left the neighbourhood, and joined the Episcopal Church; but the Rev. William Crotty and his adherents were, on the 30th of May, 1839, received into connection with the Synod of Ulster. This was the origin of our congregation in Birr. Afterwards, Mr. Crotty removed to Roundstone, where he did good work in connection with the Presbyterian Church, while Dr. Carlile, for a lengthened period, prosecuted a successful Mission in Birr.

As the Secession Synod and the Synod of Ulster held now the same doctrines, and received a similar endowment from the State, many earnest members of both Churches began to think that the time had come for their union. One Saturday in the year 1838, a Secession student and a Synod of Ulster student, who had chanced to meet, formed the plan of trying to maintain a united prayer meeting, in addition to the two prayer meetings which were already carried on by the students of their respective Synods. This plan was adopted with success. A united meeting for prayer was begun on the 8th of January, 1839, and Mr. Robert Knox was chosen secretary. Before long, the students connected with this organisation began to agitate for a union of the Synods. On the 19th of April, they were addressed by the Rev. John Coulter, of Gilnahirk, on the advantages likely to follow such a union. This address was published, and the idea it advocated was well received by pastors and people of the Ulster Synod. A large majority of the Secession ministers were of the same mind, but a small minority of the ministers and a strong minority of the people were altogether opposed. Some of them said that a union of Synods would be like pouring clean water into dirty water, which would pollute the one without purifying the other. But this party had no leader of power or popularity, and the Secession people followed their ministers.

In 1839, memorials in favour of union were presented to both Synods, and each appointed a committee to consider the proposal. A basis of union was adopted; and on the 8th of April, 1840, the Synods held special meetings in Belfast, and agreed upon general terms of incorporation, leaving the details to be arranged by committees.

On Tuesday, the 7th of July, 1840, the Synod of Ulster met in

May Street Church, Belfast, and the Secession Synod in Linen Hall Street Church. Some necessary business having been transacted, the union was consummated on the 10th of July. At eleven o'clock that day, both Synods arose and proceeded to Rosemary Street Church. Meeting on the way, they mingled together. The Rev. James Elder, of Finvoy, commonly called "The Gun of the Gospel," as moderator, walked in front of the procession, on the part of the Synod of Ulster; but the Rev. Alexander Rentoul, M.D., moderator of the Secession Synod, being one of the minority who objected to the basis of union, refused to occupy a similar position on behalf of his own Church, and his place was supplied by the Rev. John Rogers, of Glascar, who, representing the Secession Synod, walked beside Mr. Elder. Thus the long procession passed through the streets and entered Rosemary Street Church. After devotional exercises, the Act of Union was read by Dr. Reid, the historian, clerk of the Synod of Ulster. Dr. Hanna was chosen moderator, and the court was constituted as the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. There were then 292 congregations connected with the Synod of Ulster, and 141 with the Secession Synod; and the United Church contained nearly 650,000 Presbyterian people. The moderator of the Secession Synod and about fourteen other ministers refused at first to join the General Assembly.

In deference to a strong feeling which prevailed among the Seceders, it was arranged that elders should be regularly ordained, and that candidates for the ministry of vacant congregations would be duly elected if they were supported by two-thirds of the voters, even they failed to secure the votes of those who paid two-thirds of the stipend. The Synod of Ulster had previously determined to commence a foreign mission, and had made preliminary arrangements. This work was now completed by the General Assembly, whose first public act was to set apart the Rev. James Glasgow and the Rev. Alexander Kerr as missionaries to India.*

In the very year the Synod of Ulster and the Secession Synod united, the Reformed Presbyterian Church was rent asunder, as the result of a controversy that had been carried on between Dr. Paul, of Carrickfergus, and Dr. Houston, of Knockbracken, regarding their relation to the Civil Magistrate. That controversy was brought into the Synod. Dr. Houston and the majority determined to strictly maintain their original opinions, and refuse to permit their members to take part in the government of the country. On the other hand, Dr. Paul and his followers professed principles that more nearly resembled the opinions of the Assembly. Finding themselves in a minority, they withdrew from their Church and founded the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod, which has lately, in doctrine and discipline, drawn very near to the Assembly.

After the death of David Houston, the Irish Reformed Presbyterian

* The Rev. Robert Jeffrey, M.A., of Portadown, has written an exceedingly clever history of our Indian Mission.

Societies were, for many years, without a minister. At last, in July, 1757, Mr. William Martin, a native of County Derry, was ordained their pastor, at Vow, near Rasharkin. Mr. Matthew Lynd was ordained at the same place in August, 1763, and a presbytery was constituted. But some ministers having emigrated to America, this court was dissolved, and it was not till 1792 that the first permanent Reformed Presbytery was established.*

Meanwhile the General Fund, established for the support of Presbyterianism in the South, had fallen into the hands of Unitarians. In order to exclude them and secure this endowment for the orthodox Non-Subscribing Presbytery of Munster, a law-suit was begun in 1840, through the instrumentality of Mr. George Matthews, then a clerk in Dublin Castle, and possessed of the confidence of the Government.† This litigation went on for years. Mr. Matthews and his friends succeeded in excluding Unitarians from all share in the fund, but failed to secure its exclusive use for the Synod of Munster—as trustees were appointed to represent both the Synod and the Assembly.

In order to satisfy the scruples of a few Secession ministers who still refused to join the United Church, the General Assembly, in 1841, resolved that entrants to the Communion and parents at the baptism of their children should make “a profession of belief conformable to the Westminster Confession of Faith”; that the metrical version of the Psalms of David used by the Church of Scotland be the only Psalmody authorized by the General Assembly; that the erroneous and immoral be excluded from sealing ordinances; and that communicants be admitted to the Lord’s Table by tokens, “distributed only by the ministers and elders conjointly.” When these resolutions were read from the chair, the Revs. Samuel Craig, Alexander Rentoul, Francis Wilson, William Campbell, Alexander Strain, James B. Rentoul, John L. Rentoul, and John D. Martin signified their adherence to the United Church, and their names and the names of their congregations were added to the roll of the Assembly. Only seven or eight Secession ministers now remained separate, and they had but little success afterwards in extending their sect or their influence.


* I was led into a slight error (p. 163) with regard to Mr. Lynd’s ordination by following Dr. Killen.

† Matthews was an adventurer with a strange history. His real name was Duncan Chisholm, and he was then a fugitive from justice.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FROM THE UNION TO THE DISENDOWMENT.

"Two hundred years, two hundred years, our barque o'er billowy seas
Has onward kept her steady course through hurricane and breeze ;
Her captain was the Mighty One ; she braved the stormy foe,
And still He guides, Who guided her, two hundred years ago."

S the Secession ministers, who now formed one-third of the Assembly, had not been accustomed to follow the leadership of Cooke and Stewart, and as a new generation of clergymen, who knew not the rulers of the past, were rapidly springing into existence, the supremacy of the Duumvirate soon terminated, and, since then, no other leaders have been able to attain to the same authority among Irish Presbyterians.

Another result of the Union was seen in the missionary efforts of the Church. The Rev. R. M. McCheyne, when in Ireland the previous year as a deputy from the Church of Scotland, had drawn public attention to the state of the Jews. The Assembly now determined to begin a mission to this ancient people. The Rev. David Hamilton, of York Street, father of the Rev. Thomas Hamilton, D.D., LL.D., president of the Queen's College, was appointed first convener.

Mr. Daniel O'Connell, leader of the Keltic Irish was now engaged in agitating for a repeal of the legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. The Roman Catholics of the South went willingly with him, but the Protestants of the North thought it would be unwise to permit a superstitious and priest-led democracy to direct the destinies of a nation. Landlords trembled for the safety of their estates, the Episcopal Church feared to lose her endowments, and the Protestant democracy dreaded lest the scenes of 1641 and of 1798 might be re-enacted. Mr. O'Connell failed to comprehend the change which had come over the minds of Presbyterian farmers during the previous forty years. Vainly hoping that the sons of those who had carried pikes at Antrim and Ballinahinch would listen to his arguments, he paid a visit to Belfast in January, 1841. But only for police protection, an Orange mob would have torn him to pieces. Challenged to a public discussion by Dr. Cooke, he thought it wise to decline. This victory was a means of placing the doctor in a position of political prominence, so high as to almost compensate him for the loss of his ecclesiastical power, already beginning to slip out of his hands. He was regarded as the "Cock of the North," the "Cook who dished Dan," and the champion of Unionists everywhere throughout Ireland.

In 1842, the two hundredth anniversary of the organisation of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland was duly celebrated by many public meetings and religious services. The moderator, Dr. Cooke, preached in Carrickfergus, where the first Presbytery had been formed. He took as his text the words, "Do good in Thy good pleasure unto Zion : build Thou the walls of Jerusalem," which was the passage of Scripture from which Mr. Baird delivered his sermon when the Presbytery was organised two hundred years before. In connection with this celebration, a fund was established for promoting mission work in Ireland, and about £14,000 raised for this object.

"Two hundred years ago, there came from Scotland's storied land,
To Carrick's old and fortress town a Presbyterian band ;
They planted on the castle-wall the Banner of the Blue,
And worshipped God in simple form—as Presbyterians do.
Oh ! hallowed be their memory, who in our land did sow
The goodly seed of Gospel truth, two hundred years ago !" *

In 1840, the Armagh Consistorial Court decided that a marriage between a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian, performed by a Presbyterian minister, was illegal. Next year, a man convicted of bigamy carried the matter to a higher court, on the ground that his first marriage had been celebrated by a Presbyterian minister, although between a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian. In the Queen's Bench, three of the judges were for liberating the prisoner, and two for his condemnation. The question was carried to the House of Lords. But the Law Lords being equally divided, the decision of the inferior court was upheld, and the marriage pronounced invalid. This decision caused great alarm among the Presbyterians of Ulster. Public meetings were held. An address by Dr. Goudy, of Strabane, full of sound reasoning, racy humour, and withering sarcasm, was printed, and widely circulated. In February, 1842, Government gave notice of introducing a bill to legalize all marriages of this kind, which had been already solemnized. But, as this bill was merely retrospective, Dr. Cooke convened a special meeting of Assembly, by which it was condemned. Presbyterians were now thoroughly aroused to contend for their rights. Many meetings were held; intense excitement prevailed; and at last Government gave way. In 1844, a bill was passed, which granted Presbyterians all that they demanded, so that marriages may be now celebrated by clergymen of our Church, if one of the parties united be a Presbyterian.

The difficulty experienced by Presbyterians in getting Government to legislate on the Marriage question, turned the attention of

* Mr. William M'Comb, author of the lyric from which this verse is extracted, was a poet of no mean ability. In 1840, he first issued "M'Comb's Presbyterian Almanac." After he retired from business, this annual was continued for twenty-five years by his successor, Mr. James Cleeland, who has published different works connected with the history of our Church.

the Assembly to the fact that Episcopal landlords controlled the Parliamentary representation of Ulster, and that the Presbyterian Church had no members to urge her claims. Accordingly, the Assembly which met in 1843, passed a resolution recommending their people to discharge their duty as Christian electors, in such a way as should "most effectually secure a full and adequate representation of the principles and interests of Presbyterianism in the British Legislature."* This resolution passed without a vote; but twenty members protested, and Dr. Cooke absented himself from meetings of the Assembly till 1847, when the motion was rescinded.

At this period, the Church of Scotland was in a position of great difficulty. A Tory Government in the reign of Queen Anne, had deprived its members of power to elect their pastors, and given it to "patrons," who were generally landholders. But Presbyteries had always refused to ordain or install a patron's nominee when the members of a parish showed a reasonable objection to his settlement. That right, Dr. Chalmers and a powerful majority of the Assembly strove to maintain. But the law courts pronounced the "veto" illegal. The Conservative Government, at first, seemed about to grant some measure of relief, but the influence of the patrons prevailed. The Church of Scotland was rent asunder in 1843, and many were thereby rendered hostile to establishments who, otherwise, would have been among their warmest defenders. Afterwards, the Conservative party were convinced of the mistake they made, the entire system of patronage was abolished by Parliament, and members of the Church of Scotland have now the right of electing their own ministers.

The Arian influence in the Royal Belfast Institution continued to increase. After a lengthened controversy with the managers, the Assembly, when they could not obtain the right of appointing the Professor of Hebrew, and of having a veto on appointments made by the Board to the chairs of Moral Philosophy and of Greek, determined to relinquish all connexion with the Institution. Many Presbyterians wished to establish a complete college, under control of their Church, embracing both an undergraduate and a theological department. In order to consider this question, a special Assembly met in Cookstown, in September, 1844. Dr. Morgan made a speech in favour of establishing a complete college, and it was unanimously determined: "That, in the mind of this Assembly, it is both desirable and necessary for this Church to have under its entire control and superintendence a seminary for the education of candidates for the Christian ministry." A committee was appointed to take means for carrying out this work; and, before long, they had three thousand pounds promised in subscriptions. The Assembly sent a deputation to Sir R. Peel, to

* Dr. Porter's account of this transaction is inaccurate, as he gives a motion which was withdrawn, and not the motion that passed, as the deliverance of the Assembly.

seek Government aid in the erection and endowment of the proposed college. This aid, however, was refused, as the Cabinet had already resolved to establish non-sectarian seminaries, afterwards known as the Queen's Colleges. A large party in the Church, under the leadership of the Rev. Richard Dill and the Rev. Dr. Brown, blamed Drs. Cooke, Edgar, and Wilson for not urging more strongly on the Government the just claims of Presbyterians for assistance in endowing a complete college, embracing an undergraduate as well as a theological department, and accused them of applying for the endowment of a mere School of Divinity, before they had due authority from the Assembly.

Dr. Cooke was a candidate for the presidency of the Belfast Queen's College. But Dr. Henry of Armagh obtained the appointment, and Dr. Cooke received the situation of agent for the Royal Bounty which had been held by Dr. Henry. It is somewhat strange that three times Dr. Henry was successful in obtaining appointments in preference to Dr. Cooke. In preference to him, he became minister of Armagh, agent for the Royal Bounty, and President of the Queen's College, Belfast.

A wealthy and liberal Presbyterian lady, widow of the Rev. William Magee, of Lurgan, and a member of Mr. Dill's congregation, died on the 22nd of June, 1846. By her will, she left the sum of £20,000 for establishing a college, wherever might be determined by her trustees—the Rev. Dr. Brown, the Rev. R. Dill, and Counsellor Gibson. Soon afterwards, the Government endowed four theological chairs, in addition to the four which the Church then possessed, with the distinct understanding that the Assembly's students would take their undergraduate course in one of the Queen's Colleges.

Dr. Cooke was chosen Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Catechetics. He now acted with great zeal, as leader of the "Belfast Party," who were a majority of the Assembly. Their aim was to obtain Mrs. Magee's bequest for the erection of the buildings necessary to accommodate these theological classes, and for miscellaneous expenditure. On the other hand, a powerful minority, which was supreme in a majority of the presbyteries, wished to devote Mrs. Magee's bequest to the establishment of a complete college, embracing an undergraduate as well as a theological department. Among the leaders of this party were the Revs. Dr. Brown, R. Dill, John Rogers, N. M. Brown, and above all, Alexander P. Goudy, of Strabane, the great rival of Dr. Cooke in wit, invective, and debating power of the highest order. In this controversy many strange expressions were employed. Dr. Edgar said on one occasion, in reference to the proposal of placing the Magee College in Derry: that "Mrs. Magee was not of a poetical turn of mind, but a lady of plain practical prose. Nor did he think that she was such a woman as would desire to see Presbyterian students going from Connemara to attend college, at the back of God speed, at Derry." Year after year the matter was debated in the Assembly, and a Chancery suit was prolonged in the law courts.

At last a decision was given. The Court upheld the contention of the trustees that the bequest must be devoted to the establishment of a complete college, and granted them their costs out of the legacy. The majority of the General Assembly had their costs refused. The controversy, however, was still continued, and the Magee College was not ready for the reception of students till 1865. Mr. Dill left it a large endowment. It obtained distinguished professors, and has been an instrument for accomplishing much good.

When it was found impossible to use Mrs. Magee's bequest for building a theological college in Belfast, the necessary funds were raised by subscription. On a site near the Queen's College, a fine structure was erected, and, on the 5th of December, 1853, opened by Dr. J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, the Historian of the Reformation. Fifteen years afterwards chambers were added in which forty students can reside.

The failure of the potato crop, in 1846, deprived the Irish poor of their chief article of food. Famine was succeeded by pestilence, and pestilence by a vast emigration of the middle and lower classes. The population of the country decreased from 8,175,124 in 1841, to 6,551,970 in 1851, and to 4,706,182 in 1891. This depopulation has fallen almost entirely on country districts. Linen, which was formerly manufactured by sons and daughters of farmers in their own houses, is now manufactured by a crowd of professional workers in the cities; and these city workers are by no means so well trained in religious knowledge as the class they have succeeded. The small farmers, who were formerly enabled to pay exorbitant rents by the earnings of their families engaged in the manufacture of linen, have now found a home in America. This emigration has affected Roman Catholics more than any other denomination. Fifty years ago they had a majority in the province of Ulster, now they are in a minority of a hundred and thirty thousand.

The country had suffered so much from famine in 1846, and from wholesale evictions afterwards, that the Keltic Irish were driven by despair to the verge of rebellion. The Young Ireland party left the leadership of O'Connell, because he refused to employ any but constitutional means of reform. After his death in 1847, the agitation became more treasonable under the leadership of John Mitchell, who, the next year, was arrested, condemned, and transported. In July 1848, Mr. William Smith O'Brien with his more enthusiastic followers, attempted to excite an insurrection, but they were dispersed by a few policemen. O'Brien and the other leaders were arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hanged; but their punishment was commuted to transportation for life.

In Ulster, a new political agitation was begun, in which both Saxon and Kelt were united, under the leadership of William Sharman Crawford, M.P., Dr. James M'Knight,* Samuel M'Curdy

* James M'Knight (1800—1876), the son of a farmer, was born near Rathfriland. He studied Arts and Divinity in Belfast, and appeared,

Greer,* and the Rev. John Rogers of Comber. The aim of this party was to induce Parliament to give the Ulster tenant-right custom the sanction of law ; and thus grant farmers a legal right to their own improvements, which they then enjoyed only by the good will of their landlords. A Tenant League was established, many public meetings were held, and the controversy was carried into the church courts. At a meeting of the Synod of Belfast, in 1850, the Rev. J. Rogers moved that a petition be presented to Parliament in favour of Tenant-right.

Mr. Rogers—"With regard to the Socialist doctrines alleged to have been taught by tenant-right advocates, I shall just say that for the last two hundred years Socialism has been all on the other side. (Hear, hear.) The entire outlay of the tenant farmers has gone periodically into the pockets of the landlords. A small minority have swallowed up the property of nine-tenths of the province."

Dr. Cooke—"Now here it is ; we have Socialism preached here in the Synod."

Mr. Rogers—"I state a fact. It would seem to be forgotten by some members that the poor man has property which should be as fully secured as that of the rich."

The petition was adopted by a large majority.

Next July, the General Assembly, notwithstanding the opposition of Dr. Cooke, petitioned Parliament in favour of Tenant-right. In August, a great conference on this subject was held in Dublin. It was attended by many representative men from both North and South, and was presided over by Dr. James M'Knight, then editor of the *Banner of Ulster*. But the power of the landlords prevented Parliament passing any direct measure of relief. This same year an Act was passed, which gave the franchise in counties to tenants whose valuation was twelve pounds, and, in boroughs, to those whose valuation was eight pounds.

Parliament was dissolved in 1852 by Lord Derby, and a General Election took place immediately afterwards. Relying on the power placed in the hands of farmers by the extended franchise, several Tenant-right candidates were put forward in Ulster ; but none of them succeeded, except Mr. William Kirk in Newry. Higgins was defeated in Tyrone, Johnston in Donegal, Greer in Derry, and Sharman Crawford in Down. In Derry the numbers were :—Bateson (c) 2,091 ; Jones (c) 1,912 ; Greer (l) 1,513 ; and in Down :—

in 1828, before the Theological Examination Committee ; but he finally devoted himself to journalism. He was successively connected with the *Belfast News-Letter*, the *Banner of Ulster*, and the *Londonderry Standard*. But it was as editor of the *Standard*, then at the head of the Ulster Press, that he arose to fame, and acquired the power of a prophet, over the more respectable Presbyterian farmers of Ulster.

*Samuel M'Curdy Greer was son of the Rev. Thomas Greer, minister of Dunboe. He was a barrister by profession, and, in 1857, was returned to Parliament as a representative of county Derry.

Hill (c) 4,663; Kerr (c) 4,124; Crawford (l) 3,135. The Tenant-right party, to explain their defeat, stated that voters, because they had no protection from the ballot, feared to support what they considered the general interest of the community, lest they might be evicted by their landlords; and that the Orange Society, over which these landlords were supreme, directed all the power of the Protestant democracy against Liberal candidates.

Some Presbyterian ministers appeared on tenant-right platforms; but an outcry was raised against them by the very parties whose interests they were trying to defend, that they were associating with priests. In reference to the conduct of these ministers, Dr. Cooke said at a public meeting, "That they were young and yet unfledged, and that they ought to be allowed to flap their infant wings. He was often asked why he did not stop these young orators, but could he do anything so cruel? They were, however, getting a good whipping. They had got one the other day in Derry; they got another at Monaghan, and they were about receiving another whipping in Down. (Hear.) They had brought the Presbyterian people to the brink of a precipice, and the very men who have been moving among them and asking them into brother companionship, were those who would cast them in." But Dr. Cooke, with all his eloquence, was unable to turn the tide of popular feeling. Tenant-right principles grew so rapidly amongst the ministers of the Assembly, that soon on questions purely political he was in a decided minority.

The population of the South and West had been reduced even more than the population of the North. To supply the place of those removed by death, emigration, or eviction for non-payment of exorbitant rents, many Presbyterian settlers were brought from Ulster and from Scotland; and the General Assembly, to provide for their spiritual wants, established several congregations. Until a few years previously, such "new erections" had often to wait a long time before receiving a grant of Royal Bounty; but another rule had been introduced in 1840, by which, on complying for three years with the conditions regarding numbers and contributions, to which I have already made reference, the new charges became entitled to an endowment. During this time of probation, they received support from the Home Mission Funds—and even afterwards, if they remained weak and struggling. The General Assembly had in 1840 only about thirty congregations out of Ulster. These thirty soon became seventy, and their number would probably, have continued to increase, had not new political movements tended to drive Protestants out of the South and West. A colonial mission was organized in 1846, with the Rev. William McClure as convener. Through its instrumentality, many ministers were sent to the colonies, where they were welcomed by numerous Presbyterian settlers, who had often great difficulty in obtaining preachers of the Gospel.

In order that the Presbyterian people might be instructed regarding the missionary operations of their Church at home and

abroad, a monthly periodical called the *Missionary Herald** was established in January, 1843. This publication has been several times enlarged, and is still an official organ of the assembly.

The attention of Irish Presbyterians was now directed to the difficulties which their ministers had sometimes to encounter for want of suitable residences. When rents were low and tenant-right cheap, clergymen could easily procure agricultural holdings on favourable terms. But when emigration had caused a consolidation of farms, and raised the value of tenant-right, Presbyterian ministers had sometimes great trouble in procuring suitable places of abode. Besides, some congregations urgently required new churches, and others were deeply in debt for buildings already erected. The Assembly, having taken all these matters into consideration, appointed a committee, in 1852, to devise a means by which the necessary money might be raised. Next year, this committee appealed to the public for £5,000; but, at the suggestion of Mr. John Sinclair, they afterwards determined to aim at raising £25,000. The scheme succeeded, and about £30,000 were obtained. When this fund was exhausted another was started, and £20,000 more raised for churches, manses, and school-houses. Afterwards, other funds for manses were raised, and now 452 congregations are furnished with places of residence for their ministers.

In 1854, the General Assembly was joined by the Presbytery of Munster, which had come out from an association partly Arian and partly Socinian, that had been formed in 1809 by a union of the Southern Presbytery of Dublin with the Presbytery of Munster. The body now admitted to the Assembly consisted of seven congregations and eight ministers.

The discovery of gold in California and Australia had of late begun to lessen the value of money; while the standard of comfort among all classes of the community had been raised considerably. A number of Irish Presbyterians, convinced that it was now impossible for their ministers to procure even the necessaries of life with an income which did not average much above £100 a year, petitioned the Assembly, in 1856, to take into consideration the subject of ministerial support. In compliance with this request, a committee was appointed to bring this question before the Presbyterian public. Next year they reported that about £5,000 per annum had been added to ministerial stipends. Seven years afterwards, the increase from 1854 amounted to £10,627, which raised from £40 to £61 the average yearly stipend paid to ministers. One cause of this financial prosperity was the spirit of emulation evoked by printing in a financial report the amount given by each contributor.

In 1857, the Rev. J. R. M'Allister of Armagh, directed attention to the claims of assistant ministers. Their only income was the congregational stipends, which in country districts seldom amounted

* There had previously existed a publication called the *Downpatrick Missionary Herald*, edited by Sidney Hamilton Rowan, Esq.

to more than the £35 necessary to qualify for the Royal Bounty, enjoyed by senior ministers during their lives. Mr. M'Allister's influence was sufficient to induce the Assembly to take up a collection for this purpose. That collection was afterwards made annual, with the object of raising the salaries of assistants to £140 a year in towns, and £110 a year in country districts. The result was to give both classes about £105 per annum.

Until this period, Presbyterian soldiers, except when in Scotch regiments, had no chaplains of their own faith. Even in Ireland, they were marched to the services of the Established Church, and were, when unwell, refused the privilege of seeing a clergyman of their own religion, unless by permission of the Episcopal chaplain. Through the exertions of the Rev. Richard Dill and Mr. Wm. Kirk, M.P. for Newry, their claims for liberty of conscience were at last recognised. A question having arisen concerning the nomination of chaplains by the Irish Presbyterian Church, it was reported to the Assembly in 1858, that the Secretary of State for War, after having promised to make all such appointments on their recommendation, had written to enquire regarding the character of the Rev. Henry Henderson and the Rev. John Browne Wilson; but that, on the committee protesting against private negotiations, the former promise of the Government was renewed. It was then proposed and carried that the Rev. Dr. Goudy and the Rev. John Rogers be recommended for the appointments in question. A small party of Tories, led by Dr. Cooke, tried to persuade the Assembly to pass an additional resolution to the effect, that the status of the Rev. Henry Henderson and the Rev. John Browne Wilson as ministers, was a sufficient evidence of their moral and ministerial character. This proposition was rejected by a very great majority, but Dr. Cooke's influence, although insufficient to carry such an equivocal recommendation of his friends, was powerful enough with Lord Derby's Government to prevent the appointment of Dr. Goudy and Mr. Rogers. After some time, Mr. Wilson secured the position he sought, but Mr. Henderson never obtained a chaplaincy.*

The Rev. Richard Dill died on the 8th of December, 1858, and left about £15,000 to the Church; of this sum the greater part fell to the Magee College, Londonderry. Dr. Goudy attended Mr. Dill's funeral, but took unwell immediately afterwards, and died on the 14th of the same month.

The year 1859 is remarkable in the history of the Irish Presbyterian Church for a great revival of religion. It began in the neighbourhood of Ballymena, and spread throughout all the districts where Protestantism is powerful. More than three-fourths of the Irish Presbyterian clergy rendered aid to the movement, and not one in ten offered it any active opposition. Vast crowds

* Mr. Henderson contributed a lengthened series of letters to the *Belfast Weekly News* under the signature of "Ulster Scot," in which he upheld the principles of Aristocratic Orangeism.

attended numerous evangelistic meetings ; and, for the first time in the history of Ulster Presbyterianism, laymen became prominent as preachers.

The rude appeals of uneducated labourers, who thought the thoughts and spake the words of those they addressed, moved the feelings of the multitude more than polished addresses from the clergy. Many were suddenly stricken down, and, crying aloud for mercy, had to be carried out of the meetings. But, whenever they were enabled to exercise faith, fear gave place to joy, and their feelings were raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. These converts, in their turn, would often in a few days, become preachers themselves, and, by intense ardour, raise in the minds of others feelings similar to their own. Many ministers were completely carried away by the religious excitement which prevailed ; and, on some occasions, a grave clergyman has permitted an uneducated girl in her teens to address his people from the pulpit. In connection with these meetings, it is certain that many were brought from darkness to light, from the service of Satan to the service of Christ ; but others, mistaking conviction for conversion, soon went back to the sins they had professed to forsake.

This revival has left behind two permanent results. One is the formation and growth of a party in the General Assembly who aim at bringing sinners to Christ, by exciting their emotions rather than by instructing their understandings, a party who are almost as much opposed to scientific theology as the Non-Subscribers that had been excluded, yet holding a few doctrines of the Gospel as firmly as Calvin himself. The leaders of great revivals in the past history of our Church, had endeavoured to instruct the understandings of their people with the precepts of God's word, and by that means had produced results which changed the character of the nation and the history of the empire. But we fear that mere excitement of the will, unless accompanied by instruction of the understanding, will not be a means of producing Christians as pure in morals and steadfast in principles as were our Covenanted forefathers.

A second result of this revival is seen in the tendency which exists for converts whose emotions are not restrained by instruction, and forsake the faith of their forefathers. Various sects of religious fanatics have sprung into existence, and some of the smaller sects, which previously existed, have largely increased. A non-sectarian Association, called the Irish Evangelization Society, has become a powerful means of directing the religious destinies of Ulster. This society employs a number of lay-preachers, who conduct meetings from place to place throughout the Protestant districts of Ireland. After these services have been continued for a month or two in a locality, they are often followed by great religious excitement. Many converts are made, of whom some remain firm in the faith, and become earnest workers in their own congregations. But others more ignorant and enthusiastic, after a while, begin to consider themselves too holy to sit at the Lord's table with those they felt honoured to be associated with in the past. They begin to

hold meetings themselves, and to accuse their ministers of wanting zeal. Before long they fall victims to Baptists or Plymouthists, and spend their lives in abusing the church from which they first learned the principles of Christianity.

Amongst these enthusiasts, Plymouth Brethren are the most fanatical and exclusive. They were but little known in this country until after the revival of 1859; now they have several thousands of adherents. They believe that, when a man is converted, his old nature remains within him unchanged, side by side with the new, which is perfectly holy; that all the evil he does arises from this old nature, for the actions of which they imagine a Christian is not responsible. They are generally Anabaptists; and they are themselves divided into several sects, which excommunicate one another; but they are all united in hating the churches and the clergy, and in urging newly-made converts to "come out" from the denominations to which they may chance to belong.*

At this period, the Rev. J. G. Pooler, Episcopal Incumbent of Greyabbey, was unpopular on account of interfering with the parochial burying-ground. At the close of a vestry meeting, held in 1857, the Rev. David Jeffrey, minister of the neighbouring Presbyterian congregation, was moved into the chair, and several resolutions passed which were very objectionable to his Episcopal brother clergyman. Mr. Jeffrey was brought into an ecclesiastical court, convicted of "brawling" in a church, and made liable to about £700 of costs. This decision opened the eyes of the public to the injustice of the law by which he was condemned, and, in 1860, the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts in such cases was for ever abolished.

In the same year, the Rev. Josias Leslie Porter, son-in-law of Dr. Cooke, and formerly a Jewish missionary, was elected professor of Biblical Criticism in the Presbyterian College, Belfast. At the final vote, Mr. Porter had a majority of seventeen votes over the Rev. Thomas Witherow, of Maghera, afterwards celebrated as an historian.

The Rev. John Hall, of Dublin, established in 1862, a monthly Presbyterian periodical, entitled the *Evangelical Witness*. After he removed to America it was continued by the Rev. Thomas Croskery, and then by the Rev. T. Y. Killen. On ceasing to exist, it was followed by *The Witness*, a weekly newspaper, which still does good service to our cause. The *Presbyterian Churchman*, the *Christian Banner*, and the *Christian Irishman* were afterwards started as monthly periodicals, and each in its own sphere has had great success. Among the secular newspapers the *Londonderry Standard* has been always distinguished for its advocacy of our principles.

The Rev. John Rogers, of Comber, chosen Moderator of the

* There are two well-known histories of this revival—one by the Rev. Professor Gibson, D.D., entitled, "The Year of Grace," and another by the Rev. Isaac Nelson, entitled, "The Year of Delusion."

Assembly in 1863, made repeated attempts to obtain an increase of the Royal Bounty. He was re-elected next year, that he might finish the negotiations he had begun. But public opinion was fast marching in the direction of making all sects equal by disendowment, and his attempt was a failure.

At a special meeting of the Assembly, held in April, 1865, arrangements were made for opening the Magee Presbyterian College, and it was decided that the professors chosen would all have to subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith. The election took place in July as arranged. The Rev. Thomas Witherow was unanimously appointed to fill the chair of Ecclesiastical History. Dr. Witherow was successful both as a professor and as an author. He threw much light on many of the most important events connected with the Irish Revolution of 1688, and exposed the pretensions of Walker, the self-styled Governor of Londonderry. The Rev. Richard Smyth was elected Professor of Hebrew and Biblical criticism, and, afterwards, he became Professor of Theology. Dr. Smyth was a brilliant orator, and possessed much good sense, tact, and administrative power. He was successful as a professor, and soon came to occupy a leading position in the Assembly. In 1874, he was returned by a large majority as one of the Parliamentary representatives for Co. Derry. He rose with rapidity in Parliament, but a brilliant career was cut short by an early death. The Rev. Samuel Marcus Dill, of Ballymena, who was chosen Professor of Theology, had a clear mind and a capacity for imparting instruction. The other professors of this institution were successful in their work, with the single exception of Dr. M'Kee, who failed to impart to others any considerable share of that classical knowledge certainly possessed by himself. The number of students attending the Magee College increased from 26, when it was opened in 1865, to 97, in 1891—of whom about 70 were studying for the ministry of the Irish Presbyterian Church.

Meanwhile, the migration of Presbyterian settlers to the South, with the rapid increase of Belfast and a few other towns in the North, caused many new congregations to be formed. The ministerial charges of the General Assembly, which, in 1840, numbered 425, had become 547 twenty-five years afterwards. But, since the Royal Bounty was lost, little progress has been made in adding to their number. If new congregations have been formed in the towns, old congregations have been extinguished in country districts, that the Sustentation Fund might be strengthened.

In 1861, the Rev. John Hall of Dublin was excluded from the committee of the Sunday School Society for Ireland, because he had become a Commissioner of National Education. Towards the end of the same year, a meeting was held in Belfast, and, through the influence of the Revs. Dr. Morgan, Dr. Knox, W. Johnston, and George Shaw, a Sabbath School Society was established for the Presbyterian Church. Under its care are now upwards of 1,000 schools, on the rolls of which are more than 100,000 scholars. These schools are visited by a travelling agent. They have the

privilege of obtaining books at first cost, and in some cases receive free grants. Under the able management of its agents, Messrs. Aiken and Rankin, the Society has been the means of accomplishing much good.

In 1865, Dr. Wilberforce Arnold, a ruling elder in Elmwood Church, Belfast, drew attention to the want of a general fund for the support of Presbyterian orphans. In the same year a society was formed for this desirable object, and its inaugural meeting was held in 1866. The Rev. Wm. Johnston, D.D., and Mrs. Johnston have brought its claims before the church with zeal and success. It has now an income of about £10,000 a year, and under its care are 2,351 children. Dr. Johnston is also secretary of a society for the orphans of ministers, which has brought comfort to many a home.

In March, 1868, Mr. Disraeli, then Prime Minister, stated to a deputation of the Assembly that the endowment of the Irish Presbyterian Church was utterly inadequate, and that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to place that Church "in a position to which he felt they were entitled," as soon as he was in circumstances to do so. "Only give me a majority, gentlemen," said he with a knowing look, "and you'll see what I'll do for you." But, soon afterwards, Mr. Gladstone succeeded in pledging the House of Commons to the principle of disestablishing the Episcopal Church, and abolishing all religious endowments in Ireland.

When the report of the Government deputation was read to the next Assembly, a resolution protesting strongly against the proposed withdrawal of Royal Bounty, was moved by the Rev. S. M. Dill, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the Magee College. Dr. Cooke arose to second the motion, but his stately form was now bowed down with infirmity. His voice, on which thousands had hung with delight, could hardly be heard by even those near him. I was then an undergraduate of the Queen's College, and sat close to where he stood, but I was able to make out only a word here and there of his speech, and do not believe that fifty of his audience could understand the import of what he said. Yet the House kept a respectful silence, and when he sat down, applauded the words they had not heard.

An amendment was proposed by the Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick, and seconded by the Rev. John Macnaughtan, to the effect that the Presbyterian Church had received the Royal Bounty without any sacrifice of Christian liberty, but that they preferred the full and impartial disendowment of all religious denominations in Ireland to a scheme of general endowment in which truth and error would be treated indiscriminately.

The debate continued from Wednesday till Friday, and, sometimes, it required all the power of Mr. Morell, the Moderator, to keep the house in order. When the roll was called, 134 ministers and 46 elders supported the amendment, while it was opposed by 182 ministers and 28 elders. No less than 95 ministers and 84 elders failed to record their votes. Most of these favoured the amendment, but feared lest the Tory members of the congregations

to which they belonged might say "they had voted away the Bounty." In the majority were almost all the Conservatives, and a few Liberals, such as the Revs. Richard Smyth, John Rogers, and Professor Witherow; while the minority was composed almost entirely of Liberals. When the numbers were announced, the Rev. H. Wallace ascended the platform to propose another amendment, but the Rev. John Rogers, of Comber, succeeded in drawing the Moderator's attention, and proposed as a second amendment the original resolution, modified by withdrawing the proposal that Parliament should be petitioned against the loss of their endowments. A scene of fearful confusion now arose. Messrs. Wallace, Osborne, and Leitch (elder) stood on the platform, each trying to obtain an opportunity of speaking. Some shouted for Rogers, others for Wallace, or Osborne, or Leitch. A few sat, many stood on their feet, or jumped on the pews. The Liberals wished Mr. Wallace's amendment to be proposed, the Conservatives desired to vote on what Mr. Rogers submitted, while the Moderator stretched out his hands, and, in vain, called, "Brethren, take your seats!" At last, the Rev. John Macnaughtan arose to speak. His silver voice and his polished sentences prevailed to calm the storm. He strongly advised his own party to permit the new amendment to pass, and his advice was taken; but the Liberals entered a protest against the resolution adopted.

Mr. Rogers now passed over to the Tory party, whom he had formerly assailed by wit, humour, and invective, in season and out of season, and concerning whom he had been accustomed to say:—"Timeo Conservativos et dona ferentes." Almost all the other Liberals, who voted in the majority, remained true to their old principles. It is understood that Professor Smyth afterwards regretted that on this occasion he had supported the Episcopal Establishment.

A general election took place in November. Mr. Thomas M'Clure was returned for Belfast, and Mr. Wm. Kirk for Newry, but the power of the Tory-Episcopal landlords was too strong in the Northern counties to permit Presbyterians to elect candidates of their own religion; while in the towns the populace was controlled by the Orange Society. Even in Belfast, Mr. M'Clure's success was due to a split between the Orangemen and their aristocratic leaders.

On the 13th of December, 1868, Dr. Cooke, full of years, passed from time to eternity. In mental power of the highest kind, he was inferior to Stewart, and in command of the English language to Montgomery; but in wit, humour, repartee, and invective he had few rivals. With all his faults, he was a good man, and an able minister of the Gospel, the like of whom we may never see again.

The Liberal party being victorious at the general election, Mr. Gladstone had no difficulty in passing an Act disestablishing and disendowing the Episcopal Church in Ireland, and withdrawing the Royal Bounty and the grant to Maynooth College. Provision was made that in case the recipients of these endowments commuted

their life annuities in the interests of their respective churches, a bonus of twelve per cent. would be added to the sums payable; and thus permanent funds might be created for the benefit of these denominations. The Episcopal body as usual obtained special advantages. Their curates were permitted to commute, although paid by their rectors, while no provision was made for licentiate of the Presbyterian Church who discharged similar duties. Besides, curates who were in office before the 1st of January, 1871, obtained compensation, while that right was denied to Presbyterian clergymen ordained after the passing of the Act. The Episcopal Church took advantage of the additional time to manufacture about 400 curates, many of whom had never passed through college, but who were able to claim a vast amount for their life interests. Even the parish-clerks received large sums as compensation for the supposed loss of salaries which they still continued to receive. Altogether the Episcopal Church got about eight millions of pounds sterling, while the Presbyterian Church received only about £586,000 for the life interests of their parochial clergymen.

At first, a number of the Presbyterian clergy—especially the small band of Tories—were strongly opposed to commutation in the interest of the Church. But Mr. Morell and the moderate Conservatives joined with the Liberals in favouring this desirable course, and the others, with very few exceptions, at last gave way.

On the 29th of September, 1869, a meeting of lay delegates, representing 282 congregations, was held in Linen-Hall Street Church, Belfast. The chair was occupied by Mr. John Lytle. Mr. William Young, of Finaghy, moved and Mr. Thomas Sinclair seconded a resolution asking the ministers to commute their annuities in the interest of the Church. Mr. Sinclair made an able and eloquent speech. He showed that if the commutation money were invested at three and a half per cent it would produce enough to satisfy the claims of all who would be annuitants on the fund. But as upwards of four per cent could be obtained for the capital, which would be increased by a bonus of £72,000 if they adopted this plan, there would be a gain of several thousands a year. A few objected. Mr. R. F. Dill, M.D., thought it was a question for the clergy, and Mr. M'Crum considered a permanent fund would interfere with the liberality of the people; but, when the resolution was put, only four voted against it.

On the 25th of January, 1870, a meeting of the chief Conservative Presbyterians was held in the Music Hall, and it was determined to ask the General Assembly, which was soon to have a special meeting, not to adopt any plan until their regular meeting in June. The special Assembly met in Belfast on Tuesday, the 25th of January, 1870, and was attended by 402 ministers and 274 elders. A report in favour of commutation was received from the Sustentation Fund Committee. Its adoption was moved by Mr. M'Allister in a few sentences. Mr. Morell of Dungannon seconded the motion with great eloquence and argumentative power. He dwelt on the fact that of all the plans proposed this one alone would add to their

income, and he called on ministers to come to the front in a time of peril, as officers on the day of battle. Messrs. John Lytle, W. M. Kirk, John Young, Thomas M'Clure, M.P., William Jellie, and Robert Porter, with Dr. James R. Duncan, appeared to support the resolutions of the lay conference in favour of commutation in the interest of the Church, while Messrs. James Greer, A. J. Macrory, Robert M'Crum, Henry Lyons, James M'Lean, James A. Henderson, Thomas M'Clinton, J. Neill, and A. Clarke, with Dr. Alexander and Dr. Dill, appeared in support of the Music-Hall resolutions advising delay. Late at night Mr. Thomas Sinclair arose to address the Assembly. He proved that commutation would be both safe and profitable. He appealed to the ministers to aid in making provision for the church of the future by a plan which would probably increase their present incomes. He exhorted them to place themselves in front at the hour of danger, and to remember the cloud of witnesses, who had gone before, that were now hovering over their descendants, making their decision. When he sat down, almost the entire court arose, while many waved their hats and cheered. Such enthusiasm I never saw in the Assembly, either since or before. The House then adjourned, but the cause of commutation was won. Other plans of ministerial support were proposed by Revs. Dr. J. M. Killen, John Beatty, and Edward T. Martin, but, after a prolonged debate, it was decided on Thursday morning, by 337 against 8, to commute in the interest of the church, and a resolution was passed to raise a fund to supplement the income derived from the interest of the commutation capital. Every congregation was expected to pay, as a *minimum* contribution to this fund, six shillings a year for each stipend payer, or a penny a week for each communicant. But it was hoped that the richer congregations would give more than their qualification.

The ordinary meeting of Assembly in June was attended by 619 members. It was reported that upwards of £22,000 per annum had been promised for the Sustentation Fund. Each minister received for the first year a "bonus" of £10, above the £69 4s 8d formerly received as Royal Bounty. At first, many Conservative Presbyterians refused to subscribe to the Sustentation Fund, because they imagined their ministers "had voted the Bounty away." After some time, most of these got ashamed of their ignorance and began to contribute.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SINCE THE DISENDOWMENT.

THE tendency which of late years had arisen in the Irish Presbyterian Church of exciting the emotions rather than of instructing the understanding, was now exhibited, by the introduction of instrumental music in the public services of the sanctuary by some of the town congregations who boasted of their culture. This matter came before the Assembly, by a reference from the Synod of Armagh and Monaghan, regarding the use of a harmonium in the congregation of Enniskillen. It was proposed that the case be referred to a commission, but an amendment of Dr. Cooke was carried, to the effect, that "the common law" of the Church excluded instrumental music in the public worship of God, and that Presbyteries should be instructed to see that congregations conform to this law.

But this injunction was disobeyed, and, as an excuse for their disobedience, the instrumentalists asserted that there was no "law." Year by year, the controversy continued. Resolutions were often passed by the Assembly ordering the disobedient congregations to abstain from using instruments in the service of the Sanctuary. These resolutions were disregarded, and the party of purity, although able to pass prohibitions, were unable to induce the Church to punish those who disobeyed her orders.

In these debates and in the war of pamphlets and newspaper articles, the Revs. Dr. W. D. Killen, John Macnaughtan,* Dr. A. C. Murphy, Dr. Ross, Henry Wallace, Dr. R. Watts Dr. H. B. Wilson, and R. Workman, were among those who advocated the principle of permitting congregations to introduce an instrumental accompaniment in the service of praise; while the Revs. Dr. N. M. Brown, Dr. Corkey, Dr. Glasgow, Dr. John Kinnear, George Magill, Dr. Pettierew, Dr. Robb, Dr. Robinson, and Dr. James M. Rogers,† advocated the principles of purity in the worship of God, and obedience to the injunctions of the Assembly. The great majority of elders were on the same side, but Mr. Thomas Sinclair lent his powerful aid to the party who advocated what they termed "liberty."

* The Rev. John Macnaughtan, born in 1808, was, in 1831, ordained minister of Crown Court Chapel, London. Next year, he was removed to the High Church, Paisley, in connection with the Scottish Establishment, but, in 1843, he cast his lot with the Free Church. When invited by the people of Rosemary Street, Belfast, to become their pastor, he announced that having given up one religious endowment in Scotland, he would not consent to receive another in Ireland. As this determination was considered by Dr. Cooke an indication of voluntarism, he

When Dr. Johnston was moderator in 1873, he carried a resolution pledging the Assembly to pass no law on the question, and binding the congregations which employed instrumental music to give up its use. But this resolution failed to settle the matter in dispute. Several of the offending ministers denied that they had entered into any agreement, and they continued to defy the authority of the Assembly.

Meanwhile, many political changes had been made which affected the position of Irish Presbyterians. In 1870, the Liberal Government of Mr. W. E. Gladstone passed a Tenant Right Bill—legalising the Ulster Custom, and enabling farmers to obtain compensation when evicted; but the landlords were left their power of raising rents unjustly, whereby they were still able to confiscate the property created by the occupying tenants. Consequently the agrarian agitation continued.

At the General Election of 1874, as a consequence of the lately passed Ballot Act, an increased number of Presbyterians obtained seats in Ulster. Professor Smyth was returned for Co. Derry by an overwhelming majority. Mr. D. Taylor was successful in Coleraine, Mr. T. A. Dickson in Dungannon, and Mr. J. S. Crawford in Down. Mr. C. E. Lewis, returned by Derry City, and Mr. J. P. Corry, by Belfast, were Conservative Presbyterians. Professor Smyth soon acquired a distinguished position in Parliament, but his career was cut short, in 1878, by his untimely death.

In these elections, the respectable middle-class Presbyterians generally voted for Liberals. The small farmers and the working-men of the same denomination, led by the influence of the Orange Society, were enthusiastic Conservatives. Aware that the Church of Rome claims infallibility and universal authority, they feared Popery more than they hated landlordism; and they believed that the interests of Protestantism were not so safe with Liberals as with Conservatives.

About 60 members were returned at the General Election of 1874,

induced the Presbytery of Belfast to prevent the congregation from making out a formal call for Mr. Macnaughtan. The people of Rosemary Street now proceeded to vindicate their rights before the supreme court of their church. The opposition gave way, and, in 1849, Mr. Macnaughtan was installed their pastor. Before many years, he became one of the most influential members of the Assembly; but he obtained that position by his moderation, wisdom, and eloquence, more than by his success as a pastor. Mr. Macnaughtan died in 1884.

† I have already (p. 40) traced the descent of Dr. Rogers from John Knox, through the Rev. Andrew Welsh, of Ardstraw. The Booth family, of Denamona, Omagh, and the Rogers family of Kingstown, are of similar descent. Dr. Croskery was aware that the Nelsons of Downpatrick could trace their relationship to Knox, but did not seem to know that the family of Dr. Rogers were similarly related; and he made the mistake of stating that Andrew Welsh was a grandson, while he was in reality a great-grandson of Josias Welsh. See Croskery in "*Presbyterian Churchman*," 1886, p. 146.

by Irish Roman Catholic constituencies to advocate, under the name of *Home Rule*, a scheme of self-government similar to Mr. O'Connell's plan of Repeal. This party were first led by Mr. Isaac Butt, and afterwards by Mr. Wm. Shaw. Both were Protestants, but neither very active in bringing Irish measures into the House of Commons. Mr. Joseph G. Bigger, a Belfast merchant, entered Parliament as a Home Ruler, and, before long, became a Roman Catholic. Having learned the art of obstruction from Mr. John Rea, a celebrated Belfast solicitor, he used that weapon so effectively in the House of Commons that he became popular and powerful among the people, but he lacked the ability necessary to enable him to become a Parliamentary leader.

Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, returned in 1875 to represent County Meath, immediately adopted Mr. Bigger's plan of obstruction. Possessing the coolness and tact of a Saxon, and having acquired the oratorical power necessary for the platform or the senate, he succeeded, after the next election in ousting Mr. Shaw from the chairmanship of his party. Thus becoming "Leader of the Irish People," he exercised a power almost dictatorial as the 'Uncrowned King' of the country. The election of 1880 placed Mr. Gladstone once more in power. Several Liberal Presbyterians were returned for Ulster constituencies. Mr. Dickson was again elected for Dungannon. Being unseated for an act of his agent, his son was returned for the borough, and he himself, some time afterwards, for the county. Dr. Kiuneear was victorious in Donegal, and the Liberal party began to acquire great strength in Ulster.

In 1881, another land Bill was passed, in spite of Conservative opposition, with the object of giving tenants fair rents, fixity of tenure, and the right of free sale for their farms.* Courts were established by which about 300,000 cases have been settled. Besides these, many others were privately arranged, and altogether the rents of Irish landlords have been reduced probably more than one-fifth. But this reduction has failed to satisfy farmers, as they are unable to pay even the reduced rents, unless by withholding from themselves many of the necessaries of life.

An overture from the Presbytery of Belfast was submitted to the Assembly in 1873, asking them to "Open a correspondence with sister Churches, holding by the Westminster Standards, with a view of bringing about an Ecumenical Council." This overture was adopted, and, the same year, a similar resolution was passed by the Northern General Assembly of the United States. A committee, representing the more important of the Reformed Churches, met at London in July, 1875, to make arrangements for establishing a permanent representative Council. All difficulties were overcome, an Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system was organized, and the Council has met in 1877, at Edinburgh; in 1880 at Philadelphia; in 1884 at Belfast; in 1888 at London; and in 1892 at Toronto. As a result, it has been felt that

* This was popularly called "The three F's."

the connecting bond of a common faith is stronger than the separating influences of language or nationality. For some time previously, the attention of the Assembly had been turned to the unsatisfactory manner in which the service of praise was conducted in many congregations. The Committee on Psalmody were instructed in 1874, to add some metrical version of the Psalms to the time-honoured collection then in use. These instructions were carried out, and the old version itself was revised by that committee, under the convenership of the Revs. John S. Macintosh and Andrew C. Murphy. The Assembly, in 1878, ordered these revised psalms, with suitable tunes, to be published.

Mr. Gladstone's Government granted, in 1881, a Charter to the Presbyterian Theological Faculty of Belfast, combined with the divinity professors of the Magee College, Londonderry. From this united body, the degree of Bachelor of Divinity may be obtained by examination, and of Doctor of Divinity as an honorary distinction.

Meanwhile, political agitation grew stronger among the Irish Kelts. A society, called the Land League, was maintained with funds sent from America, with the object of relieving those who suffered from famine, and of enabling farmers to maintain their rights against the landlords. But, unfortunately, there were other organizations, much more revolutionary in their tendencies, that carried on a work of robbery and assassination. On the evening of the 6th of May, 1882, Lord Frederick Cavendish, a few hours after he had arrived to assume his duties as Chief Secretary of Ireland, was, together with Mr. Burke, a Castle official, murdered in front of the Viceregal Lodge. The assassins, through the evidence of approvers, were eventually brought to justice.

A Bill was passed by this Parliament to give householders the suffrage. The Roman Catholics of Ulster being generally small farmers or cottiers, were able, at the next election, in 1885, to return 17 out of the 33 representatives of the province. The Liberal party, opposed by both the Nationalists and Conservatives, were completely extinguished in Ireland. The result of this election was to give Mr. Gladstone about the same number of followers as the Conservatives and Home Rulers taken together. But the Premier, finding that he would be unable to retain power without making an alliance with one or other of his opponents, threw himself into the arms of the Irish Nationalists, and brought forward a Bill to give effect to the principles he had adopted. A large majority of the Liberals in Great Britain continued to follow his leadership, but a minority, under the Marquis of Hartington and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, formed an alliance with the Conservatives, and succeeded in defeating the proposed scheme of Home Rule. In 1886, Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country. The General Assembly, bitterly hostile to the idea of being governed by a Keltic democracy led by a Church which claimed supreme political and religious power, issued a manifesto strongly condemning the proposal of a separate Irish Legislature. This deliverance, doubtless, tended to strengthen Presbyterians in their hatred of Home Rule; and, throughout Ulster

the constituencies were keenly contested, with the result of leaving the representation almost the same as before. But the "Unionist" party permitted only two of their seats to be occupied by Liberal-Unionists. Throughout Great Britain, there was a political reaction, and Mr. Gladstone, finding himself in a minority, was compelled to give place to a Conservative Government, under Lord Salisbury.

Meanwhile the question of permitting congregations to use instrumental music in the service of the sanctuary, was, year by year, discussed in the General Assembly. In 1883, a motion was proposed which would have involved the exercise of discipline on the disobedient ministers, but that motion was rejected by a majority of eleven votes. The discussion went on until 1886, when it was determined to discontinue the controversy for a period of five years, and that, meanwhile, a committee, composed of members favourable to the use of instruments, should try to induce disobedient congregations to submit to the will of the Assembly. These efforts were not attended by much success; yet in 1891, the truce was renewed, chiefly by the influence of the Purity Party, who were not confident of their ability to carry any very strong prohibitory resolution.

It was reported to the Assembly in 1886, that Parliament, at the close of the previous session, had passed an Act to reorganize the educational endowments of Ireland. A Commission, appointed to carry out the requirements of that Act, has been at work ever since. The property of the Ulster Royal Schools has been divided between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, and on two of the Protestant committees there is a majority of Presbyterians. It was proposed that the Rainey School, Magherafelt, of which our Church had been so unjustly deprived, would be handed over to a committee so composed, that Presbyterians would not have a controlling power. But this scheme, opposed in the House of Commons by Messrs. T. W. Russell, T. A. Dickson and James A. Rentoul, was returned to the Commissioners for amendment, and Presbyterians have now a majority on the committee.

On the resignation of Dr. Henry, in 1889, Dr. Porter was appointed his successor; and, on Dr. Porter's death, the Rev. Thomas Hamilton, D.D., of York Street, son of the first convener of the Jewish Mission, obtained the vacant office in preference to many candidates. One of the most formidable of these was Dr. Hugh Hanna, minister of St. Enoch's, no less celebrated for his skill in organizing schools and directing congregational work, than for his advocacy of Conservative politics.

In 1890, Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, "Leader of the Irish People," came to occupy the unenviable position of co-respondent in an action for divorce brought by Captain O'Shea against his wife. The captain won his suit, and the lady became Mrs. Parnell. Mr. Gladstone, moved by the high standard of morality possessed by his Non-Conformist supporters, gave the Irish party to understand that he could have no further dealings with their leader. The

Roman Catholic Church, not wishing to be surpassed by Protestant sects in their code of morality, joined in the cry against Parnell, whom they had supported even after the adverse verdict. Mr. Justin M'Carthy now became leader of the Irish members who favoured the policy of Gladstone and feared the power of their Church. But Mr. Parnell, supported by a minority of his Parliamentary party, and by the more educated Roman Catholics in the larger towns, continued to fight the battle against his clerical opponents with dauntless courage, and with great hopes of final success. On the 27th of September, 1891, he attended a meeting at Creggs, County Galway. He seemed weary and worn, and carried in a sling one of his arms, disabled by rheumatism. But he delivered a vigorous speech, and announced his intention of still fighting his foes. On his return to Brighton, he became much worse, and he died on the night of Tuesday, the 6th of October. He was buried in Glasnevin with the rites of the Episcopal church, and his funeral was attended by about one hundred thousand people. His Parliamentary followers, under Mr. John E. Redmond, still wage bitter war against their clerical opponents.

The usual ten-yearly census was taken in 1891, when it was found that the population of Ireland had gone down to 4,706,182, of whom 3,549,856 were Roman Catholics; 600,230 Episcopalians; 446,687 Presbyterians belonging to the Assembly; 22,017 other Presbyterians; 55,235 Methodists; and 38,148 belonging to various smaller denominations. Since 1834, Presbyterians had decreased less proportionally than either Roman Catholics or Episcopalians. From statistics published by the Assembly, it may be seen that the amount of their contributions has greatly increased. Taking the reports furnished in 1864, and making an approximate calculation, in case of nearly 30 congregations from which were no returns, I find there were 87,500 families under the General Assembly, paying their ministers £37,600 of stipend, and contributing £10,700 to missions. In 1891, 80,768 families paid £50,715 to their ministers, raised £24,125 for the sustentation fund, and £20,644 for missions. In 1864, the church raised, in all, £83,000, and, in 1891, £198,791, to which £40,393 of interest from investments may be added.

The operations of our Foreign Mission, begun in India shortly after the union of the Synods, were subsequently extended to China. A Ladies' Zenana Association was started, which held its first yearly meeting in 1875. By it several females have been sent out as workers. The Rev. William F. Stevenson succeeded Dr. Morgan as convener, and, on Dr. Stevenson's death, in 1886, the Rev. William Park, minister of Rosemary Street Church, was called to succeed him. In 1888, Mr. David G. Barkley, LL.D., was appointed joint convener, as the extra work and anxiety had begun to tell on Mr. Park's health. There are now in India upwards of 2,000, and in China upwards of 300 baptized converts. A melancholy event in connection with this mission took place in 1892, when Dr. Mary M'George and Mrs. Beattie were drowned as they were returning to India. The Jewish Mission in Damascus and in Hamburg, under the

convenership of Dr. Rogers, Londonderry, has been successful in leading to Christ many sons and daughters of Israel.

The Widows' Funds belonging to the Secession Synod and to the Synod of Ulster remained separate when the Churches united. The managers of the Secession Fund pursued the policy of capitalizing all the contributions of members and using the interest alone for the payment of annuities. They were favoured by the death-rate of Secession ministers being much lower than that of ministers placed in Synod of Ulster congregations. As a result of these circumstances, the Secession annuity, which had stood at £9 4s 7d (£10 Irish) in 1825, and at £18 9s 2d in 1835, is now £60, with the certainty of a future increase. On the other hand, the Synod of Ulster Fund, which paid £30 (British) in 1826, and £50 in 1882, has been compelled to reduce its annuity to £32 a year, to supplement which the Rev. D. Manderson is now trying to obtain subscriptions.

The General Assembly of 1892 met in Dublin. A committee representing the local Presbyterians entertained both ministers and elders in the Rotunda. Among the guests was the Episcopalian Archbishop of Dublin—a great grandson of the Rev. Thomas Plunket, of Strand Street.

On Friday morning the Assembly, with only eleven opposing votes, repeated their former condemnation of any proposed legislation which might give to Ireland a separate Parliament or an elective National Council. At the same time, on the motion of Dr. J. Wilson, seconded by the Rev. J. B. Thompson, they passed unanimously, as a separate resolution, a declaration to the effect that the agrarian question in Ireland could not be considered as settled so long as the dual ownership of land continued to prevail.

The committee on instrumental music reported that Rathgar and Dundela had each introduced an instrumental accompaniment at the ordinary diets of worship. Dr. Petticrew stated that these congregations had broken the truce, and that the Assembly ought to express their disappointment and dissatisfaction. Dr. Ross, although himself in favour of "liberty," moved a resolution expressing dissatisfaction with this example of insubordination, calculated to bring discredit on Presbyterian Church government. But the Court, on the motion of the Rev. J. B. Thompson, seconded by the Rev. R. Barron, determined, by a majority of 111 to 86, to pass from the question.

On that same evening, the General Assembly were entertained by the Archbishop of Dublin at his residence, Old Connaught House, Bray. His Grace expressed his pleasure that the General Assembly should on that day—the 10th of June—celebrate their fifth jubilee "beneath the roof of an Archbishop of the Prelatical Church of Ireland," and he hoped that their visit might be a factor in bringing about a union between the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches; that if they could not have fusion they might have something like federation, and if that should lie in the distance they might in the meantime have fraternization such as they had witnessed that day.

On the 17th of June upwards of 12,000 delegates, appointed by Unionist electors in the different parliamentary constituencies of Ulster, met in a large wooden pavilion, erected near the Botanic Gardens, Belfast. Able speeches were delivered by Mr. Thomas Sinclair, the Rev. R. J. Lynd, Mr. Thomas W. Russell, M.P., and many others. Resolutions were passed, protesting against the proposal to set up a Parliament in Dublin, and declaring that they could never take part in the proceedings of such an Assembly.

At the General Election in July, Mr. Gladstone, by the law of political reaction, succeeded in obtaining a majority of forty. But in Ulster, the Unionists returned 19 out of the 33 representatives—gaining three seats as a result of the unanimity which prevailed among all Protestants. Even advanced Presbyterian Radicals were enthusiastic in supporting the most aristocratic Tories, if sound Unionists, rather than the most steadfast Presbyterians if suspected of the mildest Gladstonianism. Mr. T. A. Dickson, who has been always faithful to his Church, and is popular personally, failed to win South Tyrone from Mr. T. W. Russell.* In North Tyrone, where there was a Protestant majority of less than 100, Professor Dougherty was defeated by a member of the Duke of Abercorn's family. Throughout Ulster, the few Protestants who hated landlordism more than they feared priestcraft were absorbed by the politics of their co-religionists, just as Mr. Joseph G. Bigger had been absorbed by the religion of his co-politicians.

During this contest, many Roman Catholic clergymen threatened their followers with spiritual injury if they supported Parnellite candidates, and thus the clerical party won several seats from the other section of Nationalists. But Mr. Patrick Fulham, who was returned for South Meath, and Mr. Michael Davitt, who was returned for North Meath by ecclesiastical influence, were unseated as the result of petitions.

The Unionist Government, before the general election of 1892, gave it to be understood that they were prepared to permit the Christian Brothers' Schools to receive the benefit of connection with the National System of Education while still retaining their denominational character. The Commissioners of Education, towards the end of the year, passed resolutions by which this proposal might be carried into effect; but, after some negotiation, Mr. John Morley on behalf of Mr. Gladstone's Government, refused, in January, 1893, to grant aid to these schools, whose main design is to propagate a peculiar religion rather than to impart knowledge.

Soon after the Irish Episcopal Church was disestablished,

* In South Tyrone, the Protestant electors were in a majority of 750. The numbers polled were:—Russell, 3,468; Dickson, 3,096. In North Tyrone, Lord Frederick Hamilton polled 3,045, and Professor Dougherty 2,996. In both cases it is said that a few Parnellites voted on the Unionist side.

many of its ministers began to teach the Sacerdotal doctrines, and, in some instances, to exhibit the ritualistic displays of its sister Church in England. This movement was encouraged by Archbishop Trench, who succeeded Dr. Whately in the See of Dublin, and, through his instrumentality, the work of Liturgical Revision was rendered abortive. Since that time, these tendencies have greatly developed; but the clergy seem more inclined to teach the doctrines than to exhibit the symbols of Roman Catholicism; for the Episcopal farmer who would quietly listen to a sermon on Apostolic Succession, concerning which he knows nothing, would be ready to fling his prayer book at the head of a curate who exhibited any well-known symbol of Romanism. The increase of this ritualism and the necessity to make direct payments for religious ordinances, have to a considerable extent destroyed the power of the Episcopal Church to absorb the Presbyterian poor; and, in some instances, caused the lower classes of Episcopalians to incline towards Presbyterianism. There is, doubtless, in aristocratic circles the same tendency to maintain the social limitations of Dissent, and to exclude Presbyterians from intercourse with that class, who imagine they occupy a high position in society because they live on the earnings of others rather than on their own earnings. And, as a consequence, some rich Presbyterians still incline to qualify themselves for social greatness, by adopting the principles and joining the Church of those who persecuted their forefathers.

In Belfast, the Wesleyan Methodists and some of the smaller sects, have been successful among the lower classes. The Wesleyan Church has now lost much of its former unreasoning enthusiasm, it has passed through the stage of organization, and has begun to be guided by convention. It possesses a strong central authority, which prevents the destructful spirit of Independency from arising in its congregations; it raises a considerable part of its mission funds from members of other denominations; and its ministers are generally so near their people in modes of thought, that they can sway an uneducated audience better than cultured clergymen, whose generalized principles cannot be comprehended by the uneducated. From these causes, Methodists are making progress in Belfast, where there is a class of labourers easily affected by their style of address. In some of our Belfast congregations high seat rents tend to repel the poor, and most of them contain so many families that it is impossible for a single pastor to discharge all his duties with efficiency. Unless assistants be employed after the Scotch system, I cannot see how, in that vast city, we shall be able to cope with Prelacy and Methodism.

Besides all this, I am afraid that Presbyteries do not now exercise their episcopal function of general superintendence so well as they did in the past. Personal friendship or want of zeal often prevents a minister directing attention to the errors of a brother. Some congregations have become practically independent, and some clergymen more than independent, for they are not ruled either by the congregations below them or by the presbyteries

above them. A minister who found the management of his school troublesome, has been known to hand it over to the rector, without being punished by his presbytery. Animated by a similar spirit, Sessions sometimes introduce an instrumental accompaniment into their service of praise, contrary to the orders of the General Assembly; and everywhere throughout the Church there seems just now a tendency towards a kind of Independency, from which there will, probably, be the usual reaction.

The Sustentation Fund continued to increase after its establishment, until, in 1874, the supplemental dividend, paid in addition to the £69 4s 8d that represented the Bounty, amounted to twenty-two pounds. But even the energy and splendid business capacity of the Rev. L. E. Berkeley, who became convener in 1878, could not raise it higher. In 1880, it began to decrease, and that decrease went on till the supplemental dividend amounted to only fourteen pounds. The rate of interest for the commutation capital has become less, and the congregational subscriptions, as a whole, have remained stationary. In country districts, notwithstanding agricultural depression, there has been an increase, while in the flourishing city of Belfast there has been a decrease, on account of many wealthy congregations failing to maintain their first subscriptions. The amount raised by that Presbytery fell from £5,390, contributed by 48 congregations for the year ending in 1874, to £4,354, contributed by 43* congregations, for the year ending in 1890, while the stipend had increased from £8,752 to £12,224 in the same period.

As the amount of dividend payable from the Sustentation Fund diminishes when the number of congregations increases, there has arisen the very same spirit of opposition to the erection of new charges, which prevailed in the past century, when the Bounty was a fixed sum and the spirit of religion weak. Besides, there is such a desire to unite small congregations, even when ten or fifteen miles apart, that much injury would be done to our cause, were it not for the wisdom and moderation of Dr. H. B. Wilson, convener of the committee on the Union of Congregations.

Of late years many ministers of our Church have been distinguished as authors, and some of their publications have had an extensive circulation. In this department of work I may mention the names of the Revs. Thomas Croskery, D.D.; † Thomas Hamilton,

* Some country congregations had meanwhile been removed from the Presbytery.

† Thomas Croskery was born at Carrowdore in 1830. Brought up under the ministry of the Rev. S. C. Nelson, he entered the Academical Institution in 1845, as a student for the ministry in connexion with the Remonstrant Synod. But being brought to believe in the doctrine of the Trinity, he joined the General Assembly, was licensed in 1851, and, after preaching in 26 vacancies, became, in 1860, minister of Creggan. From thence he removed to Clonakilty, and from Clonakilty to the Waterside Church, Londonderry. In 1875, he was appointed Professor

D.D., LL.D.; James R. Dill, M.A.;* R. M'C. Edgar, M.A.; J. E. Henry, M.A.; James Heron, D.D.; D. Jamison, B.A.; Robert Jeffrey, M.A.; J. D. C. Houston, B.A., B.D.; W. D. Killen, D.D., LL.D.; J. M. Killen, D.D.; John Kinneir, D.D.; C. H. Irwin, M.A.; H. Magee, D.D.; W. T. Martin, D.Lit.; James Morgan, D.D.; J. G. Murphy, D.D., LL.D.; J. L. Porter, D.D., LL.D.; W. F. Stevenson, D.D.;† Robert Watts, D.D., LL.D.; and Thomas Witherow, D.D.‡

The vast majority of our ministers, and almost all our elders, hold by the Calvinistic theology so ably expounded to our students by Professors Watts and Petticrew. But, notwithstanding this, there are three well defined schools of religious thought now prevailing among Irish Presbyterians—the Broad Church, the Emotional, and the Orthodox.

I use the term Broad Church as merely relative to the other schools of thought, for I do not believe that either from pulpit, press, or platform, has any of our ministers advanced doctrines directly antagonistic to the Catechisms or Confession. Still, there are a few who give expression in private to views much further advanced than any they have expressed in public. In public they never attack orthodoxy, but they substitute philosophy, literature, and science for the Gospel. They regard the opinions of our forefathers as "crude and fantastic," and think there is but little advantage in Presbyterian Church Government. Although they consider themselves "The Thinking Few," and despise all knowledge that is not scientific, yet they sneer at a scientific arrangement of the truths taught in the Bible. If this theology is not heterodox, it is tending

of Logic and Belles Lettres, and in 1880, Professor of Theology, in the Magee College. He published a "Refutation" of the principles of the Plymouth Brethren, and contributed many articles to the *Edinburgh Review*, and other periodicals. He became a popular preacher, and a forcible speaker on the platform. He died in 1886.

* James Reid Dill, author of the *Dill Worthies*, was born in 1814, and is thus descended from the founder of the family:—(1) Francis Dill; (2) Francis Dill; (3) John Dill; (4) Moses Dill; (5) James R. Dill.

† William Fleming Stevenson was born in 1832, at Strabane. He studied in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Berlin. He was ordained minister of Rathgar, Dublin, in 1860, was moderator of Assembly in 1881, and died in 1886. For several years he acted as convener of our Foreign Mission. The most popular of his literary efforts, *Praying and Working*, has gone through many editions.

‡ Thomas Witherow was born near Dungiven, in 1824, and was educated in the Belfast Institution and in Edinburgh. He was ordained assistant minister of Maghera in 1845, and, in 1865, was unanimously appointed Professor of Church History in the Magee College, Londonderry. He published *Derry and Enniskillen*, *The Boyne and Aughrim*, *The Form of the Christian Temple*, and several other works of great ability. Personally he was one of the most kind hearted of men, and took a great interest in his students. He was moderator in 1878, and died in 1890.

in the direction of heterodoxy, and, besides, the fact that their preaching is not understood by their people, and the fact that they despise the advantages of Presbyterian Church government, render the minds of those whom they instruct open for the admission of error.

The Emotional School appeal more to the feelings than to the intellect. They are generally sound in their Theology, but they employ only a few Theological principles in their teaching. They deal almost exclusively with Scriptural facts, and familiar stories by which these facts may be illustrated; they aim more at the conversion of sinners than at the work of building up believers in holiness by a knowledge of the doctrines revealed in the Bible; they incline to introduce instrumental music, and to substitute hymns for the Psalms of David; and they employ Evangelists of the Assembly's Committee,* or of the Irish Evangelization Society, to hold tent services, that they may originate and nourish religious life by means of revivals of religion.

The third school is the Orthodox. Inheriting the theological opinions of Calvin and Knox, they preach the doctrines of the Reformation which are found in the Shorter Catechism and the Westminster Confession. They aim at bringing sinners to Christ, and building up believers in holiness by instructing the understanding rather than by exciting the emotions. They endeavour to declare the whole counsel of God, and when they use poetry or philosophy, it is to add to the force of those lessons they are drawing from the Scriptures. Divided among themselves with regard to the service of praise, they are united in teaching the theology of Blair, and Livingston, and Cooke. To this school belong the vast majority of our pastors and people, our best public speakers, and our best writers. With our laity thoroughly Orthodox or Evangelical, and with almost all our professors teaching the principles which guided us in the past, we need not fear the influence of a few Broad Church young men who are afraid to express in public the opinions they advocate in private.

It is manifest we are now on the brink of great changes. Year by year there is an increasing tendency for the rulers of Ireland to become a Roman Catholic democracy rather than an Episcopal aristocracy. But that democracy is divided, and we believe that the Presbyterian Church, which has lived through all persecutions of the past, will shine with undiminished brilliancy in the future.

* The General Assembly, in 1888, gave permission to their committee on the state of religion and Evangelization to employ agents to do work of this kind.

I N D E X .

ERRATA :—page 45, line 35, for “Hamilton” read “Henderson”
76, „ 14, „ “Lauderdale” „ “Lauderdale.”

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BY W. T. LATIMER, B.A.,

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